ABSTRACTS

Special Panel Discussion: Current Trends and Developments in Classical Languages, Classical Studies and Ancient History in Australian and New Zealand Secondary Schools   *[Monday, Session 3f]*
Presenters:
>   **Warren Buckingham (HOD Latin, Auckland Grammar School)**
>   **Sue Haywood (Classics Teacher, Auckland Grammar School)**
>   **Peter Keegan (Lecturer in Ancient History, Macquarie University)**
>   **Emily Matters (President, NSW Classical Languages Teachers Association)**
>   **Peter Mountford (Chief Examiner for Latin in Victoria)**
>   **Megan Paterson (HOD Classics, Northcote College, Auckland)**
>   **Roger Pitcher (Classics Master, Sydney Grammar School)**

The intention of this Panel Discussion is to inform those in the tertiary education sector of what is currently going on in secondary schools with the teaching of Classical Greek, Latin, Classical Studies and Ancient History – curricula, syllabuses, teaching methods, examinations etc. The presenters have had considerable experience in secondary school teaching and in some cases in the tertiary sector as well. A subsidiary aim is to inform those in universities of the sorts of content and experiences which students coming up to university and continuing with these subjects bring with them.

The specific areas to be covered include:

- Latin and Classical Studies in New Zealand Schools (Warren Buckingham, Sue Haywood and Megan Paterson)
- Greek and Latin in NSW schools (Roger Pitcher)
- Greek and Latin in Victorian schools (Peter Mountford)
- Ancient History in the Australian National Curriculum (Peter Keegan)
- Classical Languages in the Australian National Curriculum (Emily Matters)

Each presenter will speak briefly on their topic, and time will be allowed for wide-ranging open discussion with the audience to follow. New Zealand teachers will be invited to attend specifically for this public panel discussion.

Geoff Adams (University of Tasmania)   *[Monday, Session 1e]*
The Thematic Structure of Marcus Aurelius' Biography in the *Historia Augusta*
The intention of this paper is to analyse the overall thematic structure of the *Vita Marci Antonini* in relation to how the Emperor Marcus Aurelius was represented within the *Historia Augusta*. Overall, this ancient literary text has been shown to have been one of the most problematic sources within the extant evidence, with even the authorship and dating of the text being problematic. In addition to this, the *Life of Marcus* has been challenging primarily because of the questions that surround the legitimacy of the text itself. However, once these intricacies have been recognized it is possible to analyse this *Vita* in order to ascertain how the biographer of the *HA* sought to represent one of the most idyllic princeps of the Roman Empire. For the most part the *Vita Marci* was consistent in its thematic portrayal of Marcus Aurelius, epitomizing the overtly positive representation of the Emperor, but there are exceptions within the biography. The overall analysis of the *Vita Marci* illustrates not only how the most 'ideal' of Roman Emperors was represented, but it also provides some insight into formation of biographical structures in the *Historia Augusta*.

Dean Alexander (University of Otago)   *[Monday, Session 3a]*
Marc Antony's Assault of Publius Clodius: Fact or Ciceronian Fiction?
This paper aims to examine the historical veracity of an episode described by Cicero three times: namely Marc Antony's attempt to assassinate Publius Clodius Pulcher in 53 BC (Cic. *Mil*. 40; *Phil*. 2.21, 49; cf. paraphrase of Dio 45.40.2.). It seeks to argue that Cicero may have distorted – perhaps even fabricated – the incident for his own rhetorical and political purposes.

Although the historicity of this event has been widely accepted by most scholars – e.g., Linderski (1974) 222-3; Huzar (1978) 37; Ramsey (2003) 230-1 – there are legitimate reasons to question Cicero's accounts. First and foremost, if Antony did make the attempt, why, in the wake of Clodius' actual murder, was he appointed

subscriptor to prosecute Milo? Scholars have unconvincingly characterized this as an opportunistic political volte-face on Antony's part. Even if this were true, however, it does not neatly explain why Clodius' family would allow him to participate in the prosecution.

Therefore, this paper will re-examine in detail the Ciceronian texts with a view to demonstrating that they should not be taken at face value. Indeed, while there may have been a kernel of truth to Cicero's allegation, he most likely misrepresents some minor altercation between Antony and Clodius that would in no way undermine his standing among either the Clodiani or Claudii Pulchri. The ramifications of this are significant: if Cicero's account is invented or cleverly distorted, this would harmonize the inexplicable confusion over Antony's volte-face in 52 BC. Reinterpretation of this episode would also elucidate his later marriage to Fulvia, Clodius' widow.

Arlene Allen (University of Otago) *[Wednesday, Session 7a]*
Reconsidering *Pepnumenos* in Its Homeric Context
Although the derivation of the perfect participle *pepnumenos* remains uncertain, it is clear from an examination of all the contexts and grammatical cases in which it occurs that it draws attention to a particular quality of both the speaker and his words. Critical opinion favours the identification of this quality with adjectives such as 'diplomatic,' 'intelligent,' 'prudent,' 'reflective' or 'wise,' applicable to the content, tone and manner of delivery and, often, to the nature of the speaker himself. Based on a reexamination of persons to whom this participle is granted in Homeric epic, in this paper I offer an alternate understanding of the term, one which, I argue, the tradition in which the poet composes had developed to identify the non-competitive nature of both the speaker and his speech.

Pauline Allen (Australian Catholic University) *[Wednesday, Session 9e]*
What Do You Call Your Post-person? On the Nomenclature of the Episcopal Letter-bearer in Late Antiquity
In this paper I begin to redress the imbalance between the avid scholarly attention paid to the role of the letter-bearer in Pauline literature and papyrological letter-material on the one hand, and on the other the scant cognizance of the thousands of people who delivered bishops' private letters in late antiquity. Although canons of church councils stipulated that only certain ranks of the clergy be engaged as couriers for bishops, in fact we find a large range of private and lay individuals, female and male, carrying letters and gifts to and from their bishops and performing other favours. (One bearer was even prepared to give the recipient of the letter a haircut.) Chiefly on the basis of Greek and Latin episcopal letters from the fifth and sixth centuries I examine the terms used for the bearer, the disparity between the variety in Latin and the limited number of appellations in Greek, and warn against using translations to determine the identity of the late-antique post-person.

Jeremy Armstrong (University of Auckland) *[Monday, Session 2b]*
The Importance of Being Counted: The Censors and the Consular Tribunes
Although nominally founded in 509 BC, many central features of Rome's early Republic were formed much later during periods of intense state formation during the course of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Perhaps the most important of these occurred during the middle of the 5th century BC where, with the promulgation of the Twelve Tables in 451/450 and the creation of the quaestorship in 446 BC, the so-called consular tribunate in 444 BC, and the censorship in 443 BC, in only eight short years Rome experienced a dramatic socio-political transformation.

Although still often viewed independently, since the middle of the 19th century scholarship has shown that many (if not all) of these developments are likely linked and can be viewed as part of a single set of reforms designed to organize Rome's evolving population. The present paper will focus on the final two developments in this period, the creation of the censorship and the office of the consular tribunes, in an effort to draw out these links and make a few plausible suggestions about what they may tell us about the nature of Roman society during this period. In particular, the paper will argue for a reinterpretation of the origins of these two offices which sees them not merely as part of a (possibly failed) compromise in the larger Struggle of the Orders, but as key developments in the creation of a unified Roman state.

Lisa Bailey (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 5e]*
City of Martyrs: Religious Environments of Late Antique Lyon
Many scholars now argue that Gallic cities continued to flourish as political, economic and cultural entities through the transition from Roman empire to barbarian kingdoms. Lyon, however, was a city which suffered marked and detrimental change through this period. It was a city which could claim the most glorious martyrial moment in Gallic Christian history – the bloodbath of 177 – but which had little, several centuries later, to trumpet and celebrate. There were attempts to reinvent Lyon as a 'city of martyrs' but these mostly reveal the specific challenges facing urban communities in the fifth and sixth centuries. Lyon forms, therefore, an

interesting contrast to cities where the dominance of Christianity was marked by either smooth transition or positive reinvigoration. This paper takes the case-study of Lyon to explore what we can know about local Gallic Christian communities in late antiquity. It uses a wide range of evidence to piece together the religious environments and mentalities of Lyon's inhabitants, searching in particular for identifiably distinct lay, monastic and clerical perspectives. These need to be contextualised within the situation of the city as a whole, in order to understand the dynamics driving the development of Christianity in this period.

Elizabeth Bailor (University of Melbourne) *[Wednesday, Session 8a]*
The Fate of Skilled Craftsmen: Origins of Wealth in Grave Circle A
During the early Late Helladic period an abundance of wealth with Minoan characteristics was deposited in the shaft graves at Mycenae, establishing archaeological evidence for the appearance of an elite ruling class. Of particular interest, Grave Circle A was discovered brimming with objects made of precious materials, many of them the work of skilled craftsmen. The source of these prestige objects and why they appeared suddenly at this time has not yet been adequately explained. I will argue that the objects may have been the work of immigrant craftsmen who relocated (or were forced to relocate) to mainland Greece following their escape from the Theran eruption. The dates support the possibility for this theory; the eruption dates to LM IA making it roughly contemporary with the LH I appearance of wealth at Grave Circle A. In this paper I consider the Theran eruption, examining the movement and behaviour of people in a disaster, to understand if it was possible for refugees fleeing the eruption, particularly craftsmen, to have immigrated as far as Mycenae. Skilled craftsmen were in demand during this period and so may have been more likely than unskilled refugees to have found 'safe' passage to mainland Greece. If so, their impact would be imprinted in the archaeological record on carefully crafted prestige items exhibiting patterns associated with their origin either in method or in representation. In this paper, items from Akrotiri and Grave Circle A are compared, with similarities between objects found at both locations indicating an Minoan, possibly Theran, influence at Mycenae. Of particular note are two objects found at Mycenae that have links to Akrotiri: an earring that is a replica of the exceptionally large earrings illustrated in various wall paintings and the Silver Siege Rhyton that tells the same story as the miniature frieze from the West House at Akrotiri. The accumulation of prestige goods at Mycenae, analysis of these examples, and argument for migration allows me to conclude that there is a possibility that prestige goods deposited in Grave Circle A at Mycenae could have been the work of immigrant craftsmen from Thera.

Han Baltussen (University of Adelaide) *[Tuesday, Session 4b]*
Censorship Ancient and Modern
It is too often ignored that the history of censorship in the west has its origins in ancient Greece and Rome. Existing work on censorship in antiquity is still either absent or piecemeal. Censorship is a phenomenon that characterises both totalitarian dictatorships and liberal democracies from ancient Athens to the twentieth century and is still with us in the twenty-first. This paper (part of a larger project undertaken with A/Prof. Peter Davis) begins to explore some cases of ancient and modern censorship with a view to identify and analyse the nature and dynamics of the suppression of ideas. Special attention is given to ways in which writers and thinkers tried to avoid censorship in antiquity – continuing my project introduced at ASCS 31 – but I will also discuss the curious role of the Classics in some modern cases of tensions between intellectuals and those in power.

John Barsby (University of Otago) *[Monday, Session 1d]*
Classics at Otago 3: the Manton Period (1949-65)
This paper is a sequel to two earlier papers which traced the growth of Classics at Otago under the first two Professors of Classics, George Sale (1870-1907) and T.D. Adams (1908-1948).

It was under Guy Manton that Classics became a Department with a staff establishment of six rather than consisting of a professor and one or two assistants. Promising young scholars, attracted from Britain with their PhDs not yet completed, came and went, including notably Dick Green and Tony Long. Others stayed and were the backbone of the Department for decades to come, such as Agathe Thornton and Jim Hamilton. With this number of staff the Department needed a home and acquired one in Sale House, one of the original four professorial houses; this had rooms for all the lecturers and its own Greek classroom, and there was easy access to a Latin classroom and an Arts Common Room in the neighbouring houses.

Distinguished visitors flocked to Dunedin, including Sir Ronald Syme, Sir John Sheppard, Sir Frank Adcock, Sir John Beazley, Harold Mattingly and T.B.L. Webster, either attracted by newly endowed Visiting Lectureships or simply on post-war world tours. With this wealth of visiting speakers the Classical Association of Otago flourished; and thanks to a generous bequest by collector and benefactor Will Fels the Otago Museum obtained some notable pieces for its classical collection.

Manton presided over all this with considerable energy, making good use of his contacts in Britain: he claimed that none of his appointments were acquired simply by advertisement. Articles began to be published (something previously almost unheard of) and books to be written, including books of the visiting lecture series,

published by the newly formed Otago University Press. Manton himself published little but ensured that the Department maintained a high profile round the university by serving on numerous council and senate committees.

The whole scene was in many respects very positive. The major local high schools were still teaching Latin to Form 7 (year 13) levels, so that there was a good pool of potential students. Female students were well represented in the Department, now forming 60% of the whole; only in Greek did males still predominate. More than 50 students did MA honours in Latin and/or Greek in Manton's time. A number went on to university chairs, though not in classics, and another group into high positions in the church; schoolteaching was another attractive option, and several of Manton's students became school principals or inspectors.

Yet there were some potentially worrying elements in the situation. There was virtually no increase in the total number of Classics students at the University during the period, even though the total university roll rose by over 60%. Nor was there much innovation in the teaching programme, which (following the prescriptions of the University of New Zealand until that body was disestablished in 1961) was still largely based on language and literature.

Megan Beasley (University of Western Australia) *[Tuesday, Session 4a]*
Stoic Therapy in Myrrha's Soliloquy
When Orpheus relates the story of Myrrha in Book X of the *Metamorphoses*, he includes her soliloquy on incest. In this speech, Myrrha oscillates between a conviction that incest is criminal and an attempt to justify incest through reference to incest among animals and other human cultures. We can clearly see here an attempt to change her beliefs regarding incest. It is proposed that this focus on belief and judgement relies on the Chrysippan theory that emotions are judgements. Myrrha's attempt to justify her desire is an attempt to change her judgement that incest is a crime. She is thus using Stoic theory as therapy.

Rick Benitez (University of Sydney) *[Tuesday, Session 4c]*
Looking in to Plato's Myths
Existing accounts of Plato's myths either treat particular myths independently of any others or attempt to arrive at an understanding of Plato's myths in general by building up a conception from a collection of Platonic myths. The first strategy produces fine-grained analyses of particular myths for particular contexts (see recent articles by Schofield, Burnyeat and Ferrari in C. Partennie, *Plato's Myths*), but fails to account for the function or significance of myth in Plato's philosophy. The second strategy has no way of generating conditions for what is to count as a Platonic myth in the first place. Thus, its starting point is either arbitrary or question-begging. I approach the issue of what is to count as a Platonic myth from the outside in. Following Aristotle (in the *Poetics*), who refers to literary works, including Socratic dialogues, as *muthoi*, I begin by treating the Platonic dialogues as myths that develop views which are both serious (*spoudaion*) and likely (*eikos*), in order to effect philosophical persuasion (*psychagogia*). There is support for this view from the dialogues themselves, in which philosophical dialogues are described as 'the best tragedies' (*Laws*) and philosophical conversation is described as *psychagogia* (*Phaedrus*). Treating the dialogues as Platonic myths allows us to generate conditions for what is to count as a myth for Plato, so that it is possible to look in from the dialogues to the myths within the myths. It also provides us with a clearer picture of the significance and function of Platonic myths, in terms of *eikasia* and *psychagogia*.

Frances Billot (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 9b]*
Hannibal's Metamorphosis into an Eternal Enemy of Rome
This paper examines certain treatments of Hannibal following his defeat at Zama and his metamorphosis to an eternal enemy of Rome. The first section covers the immediate aftermath of the battle at Zama when authors faced the choice of depicting Hannibal accepting the defeat as final or choosing to continue warfare, and both representations are extant. For those texts that depict Hannibal as a sworn enemy of Rome, presenting him not accepting the defeat as final is fairly straightforward (e.g. Cornelius Nepos, *Hannibal*, 7.3; Seneca, *NQ* 3, praef. 5-7; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 17.611-2). The portrait becomes more complex in those texts that depict Hannibal as a sworn enemy of Rome yet accepting the defeat at Zama as final, especially where he is presented actively persuading the Carthaginians either to sue for peace or to accept Scipio's terms (e.g. Polybius, *Hist.* 15.19.2-9; Livy, 30.35.11). On the face of it, a 'sworn enemy' of Rome seems an unlikely figure to sue for peace. If, on the other hand, Hannibal dissembled his attitude toward Rome in order to save both citizens and the physical city of Carthage from the consequences of slavery, plundering and burning at the hands of Scipio's army, the representation may be interpreted as displaying Punic trickery while from the Carthaginian point of view, Hannibal might be considered a saviour of their city. The next section compares the various stories of Hannibal's death about when, where and how Hannibal died. It will be shown that here are two features in common between the traditions: As befitting an eternal enemy he is never represented as captured or killed by a Roman, nor does he die of peaceful old age. Suicide becomes his final act of independent defiance of Rome.

Miriam Bissett (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 9d]*
The Depiction of Festivals in Black-figure Vase-painting
My paper will discuss the link that can be made between the mythological narratives explaining the 'origins' of a festival and the black-figure scenes of the god depicted in similar stories (or excerpts of them). While the correlation between the depiction of mythological narratives and re-enactments within festivals has recently been recognised, there is scope for more work on this painters' practice of conflating the original myth of the founding of the festival and the actual yearly event. Attending festivals was one of the few ways an Athenian was enabled to envisage the deity, given the festival focus on and frequent presentation of a god. This suggests that a god (or a certain aspect of the god) was likely to have been imagined through the filter of the re-enactment found in the festivals. With this in mind there is the strong possibility for a re-interpretation of the black-figure scenes of mythological subjects pertaining to the origins of a festival as also providing key evidence for the relevant festival and its rituals. Using the two deities Apollo and Dionysos as examples, I will discuss the connection between the use of the god's iconography in various scenes and the cultic activities for that god, since it seems likely that the depiction of a certain attribute may be an evocation of an aspect of the cult of the god. We can potentially learn much about the Athenian attitudes to rituals and festivals from these depictions, as well as gaining an impression of the social and general historical background of events.

Dougal Blyth (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 6c]*
Therapeutic Reason in Cicero's *Tusculans*
Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* can be located in the tradition of philosophical therapy in terms of his debts both to Crantor and Chrysippus (see Graver, *Cicero on the Emotions*, 2002, and White, in Powell, ed., *Cicero the Philosopher*, 1995), and also to his own teacher Philo (as Schofield, in G. Clark and T. Rajak, eds., *Philosophy and Power*, 2002 has argued). But I want to consider here what Cicero himself contributes as an expert in both the theory and practice of persuasion, and a diligent and reflective student of recent philosophy. Cicero's rhetoric of reasonableness in this work betrays on some significant doctrinal points, and generally in its persuasive strategy, a bipartite conception of the soul as the object of persuasion. I hope to evaluate Cicero's conception and practice of rational therapy in these terms, and trace its effect on his presentation of Stoic theory in Bks 3-4 which others (see above) have taken as consistently indebted to Chrysippus.

Robin Bond (University of Canterbury) *[Monday, Session 2a]*
Playing the Fool: Meeting the Challenge of Philocleon
Aristophanes' *Wasps* was produced May 24 – 29, 2010 at the Old Queens Theatre in Christchurch as part of UC's College of Arts Platform Festival. The paper I propose will explore all the challenges of presenting this comic masterpiece on the modern stage in New Zealand. I will discuss matters of set, masks, lighting and music. As I also played the major role of Philocleon, the paper will explore the challenges presented by the realization of that role and how they were met. I will discuss *inter alia* the physicality of the role, the verbal demands of broad comedy and sophisticated argumentation, the wild swings of mood characteristic of the role of comic lead in Old Comedy and the difficulties of dealing with the contemporary references. The paper will be presented on PowerPoint and will be illustrated with numerous professionally taken still photographs.

Graeme Bourke (University of New England) *[Wednesday, Session 7b]*
How 'Sophistic' is Pseudo-Plutarch *On the Education of Children*?
The treatise *On the Education of Children* appears first in the traditional order of the collection once entirely ascribed to Plutarch and known as the *Moralia* (*Mor.* 1A-14C). Recent scholarship doubts Plutarch's authorship of this piece, but agrees that it belongs, like the *Moralia* in general, to the Second Sophistic period. This treatise, nevertheless, appears to owe more to what was considered in the classical period a traditional approach to education and to Socratics like Plato and Xenophon than to the early Sophists. This may be a result of the context in which the work of the Pseudo-Plutarch was produced.

Corinna Box (University of Melbourne) *[Tuesday, Session 5d]*
Translation as Interpretation: Ovid's *Amores* in Christopher Marlowe's *Elegies*
Translation is an important tool in analysing Classical texts, not just for the purposes of understanding them but also for issues of interpretation. In particular translation shows us which elements of a certain text were most relevant to the literary context of the times in which they were translated. Christopher Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* is one such key translation because close analysis of Marlowe's poetic interpretation can help to broaden our insight into and appreciation of Ovid's text, as well as highlighting some of the poetic preoccupations of Marlowe's own period. Marlowe most probably translated these poems in the late 1580s at a time when Ovid was becoming increasingly popular among English poets. His translations show a close interaction with the specific poetic style of the *Amores*, a style which he tries to replicate as closely as possible in English. Analysing the specific techniques he uses as he does this contributes to a deeper understanding of

Ovid's own poetic devices. This paper will look closely at some specific instances of Marlowe's poetic translation as well as showing how Marlowe generally isolates literariness and urbane sexuality as key elements of Ovid's poetic program.

James Braund (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 4d]*
Quoting Virgil in Southern Seas: Classical Quotations in the Shipboard Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster
The cultural legacy of classical Rome and Greece afforded one of the many frames of reference used by eighteenth-century European visitors to the Pacific to relate their experiences and encounters in the South Seas. This has long been noted in discussions of the pictorial record of early Pacific voyages; less well-known, however, is the use of classical allusion in the shipboard journals of some of the participants on these voyages. By far the most notable example of such a person is Johann Reinhold Forster, the German naturalist on James Cook's second voyage (1772-1775). Forster quotes frequently from classical authors in his journal – and above all from the Roman poet Virgil. This paper will consider a number of questions relating to his obvious fascination with the poet, but in particular: Why quote from Virgil in the first place? On what occasions and under what circumstances does Forster quote from him? And how does his quoting of Virgil in his journal compare with the quoting of the poet in the two main published works that arose from his voyage - his son George's *A Voyage round the World* (1777) and his own *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World* (1778)?

Timothy Briscoe (Macquarie University) *[Thursday, Session 10d]*
Roman Representations – Enemies of the East
The Sasanian wars of the third to seventh centuries marked the most consistent challenge to Roman dominance of the Near East until the Arab invasions of the seventh century ended Roman hegemony in the region. Both the region itself (the Roman Near East) and the relationship between the two great empires have been increasingly important areas of study in recent decades. The majority of this research, however, has focused on the military and diplomatic relationship between the two empires. This paper offers a subtle, but important, shift in analysis. It will examine what might be termed the rhetoric of war: that is, the nature of the perceptions and representations Rome had and made of their Persian enemy from the third to seventh centuries, through a close examination of the extant literary texts, supplemented with relevant numismatic, inscriptional and iconographic evidence. In addition, an explanation of why these specific perceptions and representations arose (and changed) will be offered. To this end, the investigation will more closely follow the chronology of the sources, rather than a strict chronology of events. The historians Herodian and Dio, for instance, contemporaries of the rise of Sasanian Persia, will be examined, then compared with relevant fourth century material (Ammianus Marcellinus, most importantly), and so on.

Particular attention will be paid to the way(s) in which the emergence of Christianity as the dominant religion within the Roman empire affected the perceptions and representations of the Persian enemy. Specifically, a comparative analysis of the rhetoric and propaganda of the pagan emperors of the third and fourth centuries (e.g. Galerius, Julian, etc.) with their Christian counterparts (e.g. Constantine, Constantius II, etc.) will be conducted. In addition, a comparison will be drawn between the differing forms of rhetoric and propaganda produced during periods of religious conflict between the Christian Roman empire and Zoroastrian Persia and that produced during periods of relative religious tolerance (e.g., under the reign of the Sasanian king, Yazdgerd I, A.D. 399-420).

In summary, the intention of this paper is to indicate whether Roman perceptions and representations of their Persian enemy remained relatively constant over the centuries or underwent significant transformations (and, if so, detail these transformations), as the political and geographical relationship between the empires shifted, from war to peace and back again.

Amelia Brown (University of Queensland) *[Monday, Session 3e]*
Aphrodite Euploia and Ancient Greek Maritime Religion
From Cythera to Corinth, Ithaka to Cyprus, the majority of ancient Greeks lived on or near the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, as they still do today. Maritime travel and trade maintained links of language, religion and culture which bound the city-states together, while maritime metaphors permeate Greek literature, from the poetry of Homer and Hesiod onwards. The sea was a source of wealth or ruin, colonization or merchant enterprise, naval domination or danger from piracy. Almost every Greek city-state had a harbor or an alliance with a coastal neighbor, while the horizons of the Greek peninsula abound with islands, promising passage to the next shore, or shelter in a storm. Yet scholarship has tended to play down the relationship between the ancient Greeks and the sea, characterizing the Greeks as reluctant seafarers who hugged the coastlines, feared shipwreck and denigrated traders as untrustworthy rogues. Consequently, the study of Greek religion has also had a terrestrial and architectural focus, marginalizing the places and practices of maritime religion: the

everyday invocation of gods upon ships at sea and in harbor-side sanctuaries dedicated primarily to Poseidon or Aphrodite. In this paper I focus on the cult of maritime Aphrodite Euploia, goddess of good sailing. Though today Aphrodite is customarily characterized as a 'goddess of love,' in Antiquity her watery birth, astral presence and eastern associations made her a powerful force for salvation at sea. Aphrodite had a central role in Greek maritime religion aboard ship and at her harbour-side shrines. Her cult travelled from port to port around the Aegean and into the broader Mediterranean Sea, undergoing syncretism and surviving long into Late Antiquity. In conclusion, a comparison of Aphrodite's maritime cults around the Mediterranean can give new insights into the everyday practice and long-term evolution of ancient Greek religion and history.

Richard Burchfield (Macquarie University)   *[Wednesday, Session 8e]*
Monasticism in Context: The Monastery of Epiphanius and its Connections to the World

The monastery of Epiphanius was located in the western desert of Thebes in Upper Egypt, in the XI dynasty tomb of the Vizier Daga. While the exact dating of the site is ambiguous, it was most likely active sometime in the 6th and 7th centuries. The monastery itself is the central structure of a loosely connected group of at least three cells, each self-sufficient and all within a 100m radius of the monastery. From within these cells, as well as the central monastery, more than 700 texts survive on papyri and ostraca, most of which have been published by Winlock and Crum (*The Monastery of Epiphanius in Thebes* [New York, 1926]). These texts contain valuable information on the everyday operation of the monastery and, in particular, information on how the monastery interacted with the towns and villages around it. This paper will present a comprehensive examination of the documents within this collection that specifically relate to contact between the monastery and other settlements (both monastic and secular) in its vicinity. In this way it is hoped that a picture can be built of the variety of interactions the monastery had with other localities, be they social, economic or religious and to assess the physical extent of monastery's influence. This study may help to critique assumptions about the isolation of ancient monastic settlements romanticized in the literary tradition.

Daniella Cavallaro (University of Auckland)   *[Tuesday, Session 4d]*
Penelope's Voice in Works by Contemporary Italian Women Writers

In their recent introduction to a collection of essays on classical myth and feminist thought, Vanda Zajco and Miriam Leonard identify two ways in which women writers have engaged with the classical tradition since the late 1960s. The main goal of the earlier engagement was to merge 'a resistance to textual authority with revolutionary political activity.' The second current, instead, replete with 'self-conscious intertextuality,' aimed 'to make visible and to fill in the 'lacunae' of the literary tradition.'

In my presentation, I will draw on Zajco and Leonard's definition of feminist revision of classical myth to discuss four recent texts by Italian women writers based on the character of Penelope: a poem, 'Variazioni sul tema di Penelope – racconto domestico' ['Variations on the theme of Penelope – a domestic story'], of 1989 by poet and scholar Bianca Tarozzi; an essay, 'Penelope,' by feminist philosopher Adriana Cavarero, of 1991; a novel, *Penelope* by novelist Silvana La Spina, of 1998; and finally a play, *Penelopeide*, by playwright Patrizia Monaco, of 2008, which was inspired by Margaret Atwood's *The Penelopiad*.

These four works differ not only in genre, but also in the focus on Penelope which they have chosen: Tarozzi's poem gives a modern retelling – more than a revision – of the story of Penelope; Adriana Cavarero begins with a small quote by Plato to offer an original reading of the ancient Penelope. Silvana La Spina, like Cavarero, sets her story in ancient times yet gives voice to a Penelope who only by chance has not become a Clytemnestra; and Patrizia Monaco's Penelope, retelling her version of the Trojan War from Hades, reveals her frustration at having been always second best to her cousin Helen.

An analysis of these four texts will reveal that Penelope's story, retold by women writers, has become a reflection on the role of women in society, a denunciation of violence inflicted upon them, sometimes even a – perhaps unrealistic – vision of an ideal world where female values reign. In their appropriation of the old tale of faithful, patient Penelope, Bianca Tarozzi, Adriana Cavarero, Silvana La Spina, and Patrizia Monaco combine the two ways in which Leonard and Zajco say women have engaged with classical myth by both resisting and filling the gaps of the literary tradition.

Michael Champion (University of Western Australia)   *[Tuesday, Session 6e]*
Aeneas of Gaza on the Soul

Aeneas of Gaza's late fifth-century dialogue the *Theophrastus* investigates a variety of philosophical theories about the pre-existence and immortality of the soul in the course of making a Christian case against the Neoplatonic doctrine of the eternity of the world. I explore Aeneas' knowledge of theories about the soul in the Greek philosophical tradition and his rebuttals of them. Aeneas' arguments are indebted to earlier philosophers. Origenist controversies, most likely arising in local monasteries, also provide stimulus. His arguments about the pre-existence of the soul thus illumine creative interactions between Christians and philosophers, monks and school-men in late antique Gaza.

Malcolm Choat (Macquarie University) *[Tuesday, Session 4e]*
Monastic Letter Collections in Late Antique Egypt: Structure, Purpose, and Transmission
Despite the prominence of hagiography in the literary record of monasticism, and in its modern reconstruction, the earliest literary productions of monasticism are letters. From the beginning of monasticism in Egypt in the third century CE, the letter is an important means of articulation of monastic thought and of relationships within and between communities. It continued to be a highly productive literary genre within monasticism as it developed. Part of a study which seeks to understand monasticism through an epistolary lens, this paper will assess the letters transmitted in the manuscript tradition and discuss their collection and transmission.

James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard (University of Melbourne) *[Thursday, Session 10a]*
The Recognition Duet of Euripides' *Hypsipyle*: Closure or Confusion?
The fragments of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* include an extensive recognition duet between Hypsipyle (former queen of Lemnos, now a slave and nursemaid in Nemea) and her long-lost sons by Jason. Similar to the duet between mother and son in Euripides' *Ion*, the recognition scene provides a happy ending to a play that is full of reversals, and it immediately precedes a *deus ex machina*. This paper examines how the conversation between Hypsipyle (who is singing) and her son Euneus (who responds in spoken iambic trimeters) raises issues for interpreting the play. On the one hand, the scene provides closure to Hypsipyle's anxious nostalgia about the Argonauts; specifically, she learns that Jason has died some time ago, and her sons were trained by Orpheus. On the other hand, the scene raises uncomfortable questions about human misfortune, since Hypsipyle owes her reunion to the accidental death of the infant she was nursing. Is it fair that the drama ends happily for Hypsipyle, but tragically for the infant's mother Eurydike?

Cavan Concannon (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7c]*
The Spaces Between Greece and Rome: The Formation of Civic Identity in Roman Corinth
Destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE and rebuilt as a Roman colony a century later, the city of Corinth played host to Roman colonists, Greek and Italian traders, Jews, early Christians, and all those who found their way to a city that sat at the hub of ancient international commerce. My paper examines the connections within this milieu between ethnicity, religion, and the formation of group identity through a critical examination of texts, architecture, and civic space. The first colonists in Roman Corinth sought various ways to claim the city as their own, navigating the new environment by adaptation and adoption. The early colonists adapted themselves to a political and economic context in which it was in their best interest to be both Greek and Roman at the same time. As Romans they were able to claim political and patronal linkages with the imperial center, but as Greeks they could better navigate the lucrative trading relationships that were afforded by the city's geographic location. The early colonists also found various ways to adopt the history, mythology, deities, and identity of their Greek Corinthian predecessors, thus drawing on the prestige and cultural power of a famous and ancient Greek city. In the paper I explore how these strategies show the complicated ways in which identity was contested, constructed, and used in Roman Greece.

Ralph Covino (University of Tennessee – Chattanooga) *[Monday, Session 2b]*
The Fifth Century, the Decemvirate, and the Quaestorship
The origins of the quaestorship have always been murky and clouded owing to the office's unhelpful treatment by the ancient source authors. Tacitus, of course, records that their office was instituted under the monarchs (Ann. 11.22) and that the later Republican quaestors evolved from them; however, scholars have long dismissed the nomenclative connection between the *quaestores parricidii* of possibly regal origin that continued to operate until 243 and the other, more regularized and familiar quaestors that begin to appear during the latter part of the 5th century (Latte, 1936; Lintott, 1999, p. 134).

Tacitus reports that the first elected quaestors of the latter type took office in 446; however, the sequence of governmental innovations present within Livy's speech of Canuleius (4.4.3) and its ordering represents another possible take on the post's origins and development which is seemingly at odds with the Tacitean account. Within Canuleius' speech, the creation of the quaestorship appears in a chronological series of reasonably accurately datable events; it follows the creation of priests and augurs, the census (but not the censorship), the consulship, the dictatorship, the tribunes of the plebs and aediles, but is placed before the Decemvirate.

While Ogilvie notes that Canuleius' speech was most likely a free composition by Livy himself (1965, p. 535), it is clear from the list that there was a perception at least in Livy's time that some manner of innovation likely took place around the time of the Decemvirs. Ogilvie posits that '[t]he function of the quaestors as financial officers is also a likely consequence of the Decemvirate' (p. 521); however, this aloof aside represents all that he saw fit to say on the matter. Lintott's more recent discussion of the quaestorship in *Constitution* omits any hint of a decemviral context for their origins and largely treats the subject of the early quaestorship as unknowable.

This paper seeks to reconsider the origin of the regularized quaestorship within the (pre-/)decemviral context as suggested by Livy's Canuleian speech and to more fully develop Ogilvie's brief suggestion of interconnectivity. It thus will situate the creation of the office within the context of the Struggle of the Orders and the demonstrated rise in interest in patrician accountability concerning property. In doing so, it seeks to offer not only a plausible new date for the origin of the regularized quaestors but also a sufficient rationale lurking behind an earlier creation date.

Robert Cowan (University of Sydney) *[Tuesday, Session 5a]*
Back Out of Hell: the *Katabasis*, Salvation, and Initiation of Silius' Minucius
In *Punica* 7, Fabius' successful delaying tactics against Hannibal are derailed by the granting of equal *imperium* to his hot-headed master of horse, Minucius. The brief skirmish which Minucius has against Hannibal is figured in terms of a metaphorical *katabasis*, a terrifying sojourn in the Underworld, and finally salvation as Minucius is rescued by Fabius. The episode evokes the tradition of literal epic *katabaseis* as well as other metaphorical ones in Apollonius and Lucretius. It also fits into a series of episodes in which the categories of the celestial, terrestrial and infernal are confused, what Hardie has termed 'Hell on earth.' Perhaps most significantly, it engages intertextually with Orpheus' failed rescue of Eurydice from the Underworld in *Georgics* 4 and elsewhere. As a whole, the episode exploits the imagery of cultic initiation, salvation, and the pseudo-deification of Fabius as a god of salvation parallel to Dionysus and others.

The skirmish itself is bookended by references which clearly depict Minucius' entry into the battle as a descent into the world of the dead and his return as a rescue from it. That this salvation is figured in terms of cultic initiation, can be seen from the imagery of rebirth and of light and darkness. The process is also one of initiation into comprehension of the rightness of Fabius' strategy and his virtual divinity as the embodiment of Rome. This apotheosis of Fabius, which also picks up the opening of book 7, climaxes with the cultic offerings presented to him in the closing lines. These offerings are linked to those of Dionysus, who was previously paralleled to Fabius in the aetiological narrative of Falernus. This further reinforces the position of Fabius as a divine figure of initiation and salvation.

The body of the battle-narrative also reflects its status as a metaphorical *katabasis*. As elsewhere (notably in the Cannae narrative), Silius introduces characters whose names evoke more famous figures from Roman history. Here the appearance of Sulla, Crassus and Metellus evokes their late Republican namesakes but, in the context of a metaphorical *katabasis*, further suggests the parade of heroes from *Aeneid* 6. Of particular note is the encounter between a certain Brutus, with his armour-bearer Casca, and one Cleadas, a 'famous name' (by etymological wordplay on *kleos*) whose regal apparel and association with Venus link him to Julius Caesar, victim of a later Brutus.

Perhaps the most notably chthonic figure in the episode is the giant Moor Tunger, whose black limbs, horses, chariot and cloak are explicitly compared to those of Pluto when abducting Proserpina. His defeat by the young Cato is significantly the last individual encounter in the skirmish before Fabius and his son bring the engagement to a close. The conquest of the figure of Dis marks the point where Minucius' salvation and return to the upper world can commence.

Mary Jane Cuyler (University of Texas at Austin) *[Wednesday, Session 7c]*
Ancient Archaeology in Roman Knossos: Memory and Materiality in the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*
In 67 B.C.E., after a two-year struggle against Roman commander Q. Caecilius Metellus, Crete became the last center of Greek independence to fall to Rome. Once captured, rebellion against Rome ceased, perhaps because the existing city-state system remained intact, with the addition of a governor as well as a colonia at Knossos.

Yet the landscape and mythological history of Crete remained open for conquest, for appropriation, commemoration, and re-use by local inhabitants as well as Roman political authorities at home and abroad. Archaeological evidence from the Hellenistic and Roman periods attests to the use of Minoan peak sanctuaries as shrines, and there is evidence for hero-cults at ancient tomb sites. Roman coins dating to the first and second centuries C.E. are imprinted on the obverse with images of what appear to be Minoan ritual objects, and there is even evidence of an attempt to imitate Linear A or B script on a Hellenistic dedicatory offering. This evidence demonstrates an active participation in the appropriation and celebration of Crete's ancient past during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Roman reuse of the Cretan past is also attested in the literary record, in the form of the *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*, a text that, although popular in the Middle Ages, has been somewhat neglected by modern scholarship. It purports to be the diary of Dictys, a Cretan hero who fought in the Trojan War. The Greek 'original' survives in a few fragments of papyrus dating to the second and third centuries C.E., as well as in a fourth-century Latin translation. In the introduction to the Latin translation, we learn that the text was supposedly written in Phoenician characters and was discovered in the tomb of Dictys after it was opened by an earthquake near Knossos in the mid-1st century C.E. The text was then brought to the attention of Nero, who had it translated

into Greek for consumption of contemporary readers. Here, then, we have a piece of allegedly ancient Cretan literature 'discovered' by Romans and translated by imperial *fiat* for a Roman audience.

The examination of this text (both the Latin translation and the Greek fragments) sheds light on questions of memory and materiality in Roman Crete. Whose past is represented in this story? What does its purported place of discovery tell us about ancient attitudes toward authenticity and antiquity of place? And how much (if anything) could people during the Roman period actually know about Bronze Age Greece?

Irine Darchia (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University) *[Thursday, Session 10a]*
Colour Phenomenon in Euripides' Tragedies
Colour as a universal aesthetic category has dominated the thoughts of a large number of scholars and scientists from the ancient times till nowadays. Colour has been studied and discussed by chemists, physicists and biologists, theologists, philosophers and psychologists, art experts, literary critics and linguists. Colour has a particular function not only in the spheres directly related to it, like fine arts and architecture, but in fiction as well.

While discussing the peculiar and 'strange' character of colour vision in Ancient Greece and Rome, the most popular points to consider are the thoughts of ancient philosophers on the one hand and fiction on the other. However, scholars are basically concerned with the identification of the meaning and use of colour terms and the degree of their correspondence with the modern perception of colours. But on what concerns particular observations by individual scholars, purely literary or conceptual aspects of colour use are not substantially studied. Therefore, our ideas on the principles and opportunities of colour use are incomplete and insufficient. The aim of the paper is to fill this gap.

The paper targets the following objectives: identification of colour function and systemic study of the colour phenomenon in the writings of Euripides (in complete surviving pieces, and not in fragments). The paper intends to determine: what are the colours Euripides used, which words are used to convey the colour senses, which structural forms prevail – simple or compound, which parts of the Euripides' dramas have more colour terms – chorus parts or dialogue, which are the main principles of colour use by Euripides, and what can be said about the chromatism of his tragedies in comparison with the works by Aeschylus and Sophocles.

John Davidson (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Monday, Session 1d]*
From Sophocles to James K. Baxter
The prolific growth in recent years of 'Reception Studies' in Classics testifies to an ever present issue in our discipline, which is how to relate the study of the ancient world to our own times. This issue is perhaps brought into even sharper relief in Australasia which is so far removed geographically from the Mediterranean World. It was, at least to some extent, precisely because I was very conscious of the issue, that I began already in the 1970s, well before the current Reception boom in English language scholarship got under way, to attempt to bring my interest in classical literature (especially Greek tragedy) and myth in line with a growing interest in contemporary New Zealand poetry. The present paper looks at this process and considers some of its unexpected byproducts, including forays into the work of other modern writers, especially Richard Wagner and Carl Jung.

Gillan Davis (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7d]*
Where are all the little owls?
In 1964, the numismatist Kraay influentially contended that while the early Athenian *Wappenmünzen* coinage dating to the second half of the sixth-century BCE was 'well supplied with fractions down to the quarter-obol,' the large succeeding issues of archaic 'owls' was 'almost devoid of fractions.' His explanation was that the owls were intended for foreign trade which did not require smaller denominations, and there was little retail trade. This opinion has been generally accepted in the literature, and debate has concentrated on dating the change from *Wappenmünzen* to owls. However, recent studies have indicated that elsewhere in the Greek world in the same period, fractional coinage was being used domestically in greater quantities than previously believed. This paper sets out to test whether Athens was indeed an anomaly. Using comprehensive new data from coin sales catalogues and a re-examination of coin hoard material, it is proposed that fractional coinage was being provided by various wheel-type *Wappenmünzen* alongside the early owl series. If this hypothesis is correct, then the view that there was a clean change of type to the owl at the end of the Peisistratid tyranny must be discarded, and the date of introduction of coinage at Athens down-dated.

Peter Davis (University of Adelaide) *[Tuesday, Session 5b]*
***Argo*'s Roman Politics: the Workings of Power in Valerius Flaccus**
Of the three lengthy epic poems of the Flavian period, it is Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* which seems the most apolitical: unlike Silius' *Punica*, it does not implicitly contrast the imperial present with Rome's republican past; and, unlike Statius' *Thebaid*, it does not focus primarily on the sensitive subject of civil war. Indeed, it more resembles the fragmentary *Achilleid* in presenting a piece of remote but familiar mythology. How could the

story of Jason and the Argonauts function as political critique? This paper explores some of the elements of Valerius' political code, the means whereby he constructs the poem's relevance to Flavian Rome and its politics.

Abigail Dawson (University of Auckland) *[Monday, Session 3c]*
Seeing Dead People: A Study of the Cypselids
Following my examination of Cyrus as a figure who crosses and sometimes transcends boundaries, I will examine the representations of the Cypselid tyrants in Herodotus' *Histories* along similar lines. Both the birth stories of Cyrus and Cypselus work on a similar story-pattern; I wish to examine whether this is the only thing they have in common or whether Cypselus, Periander and his son Lycophron may also (as tyrants, or the sons of tyrants) be considered crossers of boundaries. Focussing on the narratives of Book 3.50-53 and 5.92-93, I wish to examine whether Herodotus has a set of motifs which he consistently associates with the Cypselids, and in particular I wish to examine Cypselus and Periander in terms of their association with the realms of the dead.

Judy Deuling (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Tuesday, Session 4a]*
Bellatrix*: Warrior Maidens in Vergil's *Aeneid
Although Aeneas ultimately was destined to marry Lavinia, he was touched and affected, both directly and indirectly, by several women along his journey. A number of huntress and warrior maidens particularly, attempted to sabotage his journey and his settlement in Italy, both covertly and overtly. Dido's and Camilla's authority and power had impact before Aeneas reached Italy and the shores of Rome. Moreover, both continued to affect Aeneas and his followers further during their travels and wars along the coast of Italy.

Interestingly, Vergil links Penthesileia the leader of the Amazons fighting at Troy (*Aeneid* Book 1) and Camilla (*Aeneid* Books 7 and 11) directly by means of the term *bellatrix* or 'female warrior,' a term, which is used by Vergil, Ovid and the authors of several Flavian epic poems. Yet while Penthesileia, as depicted on the frieze in the Temple of Juno at Carthage, had helped Aeneas and the Trojans at Troy, in contrast, Camilla opposed Aeneas in Italy. Effectively, the image of Penthesileia and the frieze in the Temple of Juno initiated a yearlong delay of Aeneas' journey, while he and his followers remained in Carthage resting and helping to build the new city. Vergil strengthens bonds further by comparing both Dido and Camilla indirectly to Venus herself, the mother of Aeneas disguised as a huntress and likened to Diana the huntress goddess (*Aeneid* 1.314-409) as well as to Penthesileia and Camilla.

Finally, after reaching Sicily and finally Italy itself, women among both the travellers and the various Italian peoples hindered the progress of Aeneas and his great mission by inadvertently or actively aiding the war effort against the 'invaders.' Ultimately their impact appears minimal, but their actions reflect the realities of their situations and the implications of the effect of empire on those involved.

Judy Deuling (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Wednesday, Session 9d]*
Goddess, Girl or Gorgon? An Attic Red Figure Oinochoe in the VUW Classics Museum
In 1996, the Victoria University of Wellington Classics Museum acquired a small, but fine Attic Red Figure oinochoe, attributed to the Painter of the Yale Lekythos, which depicts a young woman standing left, hair bound with a fillet, wearing a peplos and short chlanis or mantle. In her left hand she holds a spear pointing upwards to the left and a circular shield emblazoned with a winged horse. The woman looks down towards a goose (or possibly a swan) looking up in her general direction, while she stretches her right hand palm up towards the goose. The image on the jug is clearly executed, but what does it signify? The spear and shield most immediately suggest Athena, but the remaining iconography is contradictory. In fact, a similar image appears on a lekythos currently in Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein, although that bird has a rather more sinuously curved neck and the female is dressed slightly differently. Who is the young woman and what is illustrated in the image?

Bernard Doherty (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7e]*
Competing for the Crown: Tertullian, Montanism and Voluntary Martyrdom
Since at least the nineteenth century the complex early Christian phenomenon most often called 'Montanism' has been depicted by scholars as a group of fanatics courting martyrdom by what the great British Marxist historian coined 'Voluntary Martyrdom.' Despite challenges to this image by a number of recent scholars this opinion has continued to be voiced, most often by reference to the North African theologian Tertullian's *de Fuga*. This paper will look at how this scholarly image has developed since the nineteenth century and the historiographical problems which it presents. In addition it will discuss the broader phenomenon of 'voluntary martyrdom' and the often blurred boundaries between what was deemed acceptable and what was deemed unacceptable conduct in the pursuit of the martyr's crown.

Lieve Donnellan (Ghent University, Belgium) *[Monday, Session 2d]*
Apollo Mediating Identities in Ancient Greek Sicily

When Greek colonists first arrived in Sicily, in the late 8th century B.C., they founded Naxos and erected an altar in honor of Apollo *archegetes*. Such is told by Thucydides (6.3.1). Being the first sanctuary in a new world, scholars have considered this altar as a reference point for 'Greekness' in Sicily, central to a specific ethnic identity, known as 'Siceliotism.' The precise location of the altar, as well as its functioning have always remained unclear and are subject to debate.

In the paper the available evidence (literary, archaeological and numismatic) is analyzed, and a location for the altar, mentioned by Thucydides, is proposed. The reconstruction of the functioning of the altar, and the rites involved, moreover, plead for a revision of the relation between the altar and Siceliot ethnic identity, as has been proposed by scholars: considering ethnic identities as constructed under specific circumstances, rather than taking them for granted as culturally bounded, the examination of the Siceliot identity demonstrates that its origins should be dated in the late Classical period and not earlier. The role of Apollo *archegetes* in it was not central, as previously thought, but marginal.

Geoffrey Dunn (Australian Catholic University) *[Wednesday, Session 9e]*
Episcopal Crisis Management in Late Antique Gaul: The Example of Exsuperius of Toulouse
In the first quarter of the fifth century the provinces of Gaul experienced their most dramatic shakeup since Julius Caesar with the Great Invasion of Vandals, Sueves and Alans, across the Rhine, the retaliation from Roman forces in Britain under the usurper Constantine III, and the establishment of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse under Wallia in 418. Exsuperius was bishop in Toulouse throughout much of this time. Not only did he face the crisis of hostile forces besieging his city, but an internal one as well, with dissent being expressed to the asceticism and Christian discipline he promoted. This paper investigates how Exsuperius responded to these crises, and argues that, while he was left to his own devices in facing the external threat, where he did remarkably well according to Jerome, with regard to the internal threat, he allied himself with Innocent I, the Roman bishop. The literary encounter between Toulouse and Rome in Innocent's *Epistula* 6 reinforced Innocent's position as the leading Western bishop as well as offered support to Exsuperius in dealing with the crisis he faced.

Danijel Dzino (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7c]*
The Cult of Silvanus: Rethinking Provincial Identities in Roman Dalmatia
This paper will explore the cult of Silvanus in Roman province of Dalmatia. Earlier scholarship saw the worship of Silvanus in this area as continuance of the pre-Roman indigenous cult, which became 'recognized' as the italic deity of Silvanus through the *interpretatio Romana*. The paper will reconsider this opinion, making the point that we deal here with entirely new cultural practice, rather than with survival of the pre-Roman traditions, or assimilation of indigenous population into the Roman identity. It will be argued that the worship of Silvanus was used as an interface for communication and identity-shaping between the descendants of indigenous population and the immigrants coming in the early imperial times.

Karen Evans (Macquarie University) *[Monday, Session 3d]*
Accommodation in Urban Contexts: the Second Storey Rental Properties in Pompeii
Establishing a secure chronology for change in ancient Pompeii is fraught with difficulty. Extensive reconstruction work undertaken in the city following the earthquake of AD 62 prevents use of traditional architectural typology to determine the dates of standing structures in the city. Recent excavations have investigated pre-A.D. 62 layers of the city in an attempt to shed light on the earlier construction phrases in Pompeii, through such media as foundation trenches. To date, work has concentrated on the structures that survive, i.e., those on the ground floor. The significance of the now-absent second storeys has received little attention. This paper examines evidence for a sequence of construction of an individual upstairs apartment, reached via an external staircase in Region VIII, and tests the possibility of expanding this research to other areas in the city. By establishing a relative dating criteria for these staircases it will be possible to trace the development of rental accommodation in the city of Pompeii and, more broadly, to analyse the relationship between demographic and spatial change in the context of urban Campania.

Rhiannon Evans (University of Melbourne) *[Monday, Session 3b]*
Roman Identity in Crisis: Decadence and the Idealised Past
Roman literary texts often represent Rome as a society which imbibed the literary, linguistic and material culture of non-Romans both easily and to its detriment. Such attacks cover a long period and a range of genres: Horace bemoans the exotic dancing adopted by the Roman adulteress (*Odes* 3.6.21-32), while Juvenal colourfully describes the influx of Syrian traditions as a cultural invasion, which literally and physically infiltrates Rome: *iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes/ et linguam et mores...uexit* (*Satires* 3.62-5). Often the infiltration depicted is of luxury items (extravagant marbles, foods, dyes), which are in turn associated with debilitating practices and connected with dubious social or sexual acts. This paper explores the trope of

resistance to the assimilation of foreign values and particularly foreign objects in Roman literary texts, and asks what kind of identity crisis seems to be constructed in (and by) them. It also seeks to determine at what point, and around which cultural artefacts, Roman anxiety seems to coalesce. Conversely, is there a point at which such objects become accepted, their foreign status forgotten?

The correlative of Romans' perceived moral decline is the narrative of a frugal and pristine past, a time before the plethora of alien wares arrived; and the paradigm which has Romanness marred and transformed by foreign contact demands that Roman core identity should be a model of simplicity, yet by the late Republic and beyond, conspicuous consumption was a means of demonstrating wealth and status. Thus the very objects which imply unRoman decadence to Roman moralists become symbols of power and elite identity, as expressed in the public and private building programs of senators and *principes*.

At the same time, I shall argue that the rhetorical appeal for simplicity and nostalgia for a lost past themselves become central elements of Roman identity, while they need have no bearing on lived reality – in fact, it is the yearning for a return to the past which is essential to this idea, and therefore it is arguably fundamental to this construction that it not become a reality. Instead, many of the facets of this idealised lifestyle are found among the peoples of northern Europe being encountered, and in many cases conquered, by Romans during this period. Thus, elite Roman identity by the early empire constructs itself negatively, as an idea which can only be seen in relation to its own past or in the mirror of savage and even nomadic peoples.

This paper will discuss the implications of this contradiction for elite Romans of the first centuries BCE and CE, and the ways in which they negotiated the shifting and contested ground of Roman identity.

Trudie Fraser (University of Melbourne) *[Wednesday, Session 8d]*
Feminine Faces of Power: the Coins of the Flavian, Trajanic and Hadrianic Augustae
The rank of Augusta carried the privilege, at the discretion of the emperor, of having coins minted with her name and portrait.

This paper looks at the fascinating coins of the Flavian, Trajanic and Hadrianic Augustae; Domitilla, Julia Titi, Domitia Longina, Marciana, Plotina, Matidia and Sabina. The coins of the Augustae were few compared with those issued for the emperors, however, they were still a means of conveying the imperial message across the Roman empire, which makes them especially interesting.

The denominations chosen for the Augustae coins issued by the Roman mint, their legends and iconography are examined for indications of imperial favour, any identifiable connections with current events and, in particular, for revelations of the lives and characters of these Augustae.

A brief comparison will be made with the coins issued by the Eastern city mints for these seven Augustae with special note of the different messages conveyed.

Felicity Fullagar (Australian National University) *[Wednesday, Session 8a]*
Epic Form in Brief
In the modern performing arts the aspect of Form is an important consideration for composers and performers. The ancients often seem not to have appreciated the singer, the instrument, and the song as separate entities; so it may be anachronistic to credit the early Homeric bards with any distinct notion of Epic Form. However I believe there are clear indications of at least some rudimentary divisions, sequences, and plot developments in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* which demonstrate that elements of Form were part of performance from prehistoric times.

Sarah Gador-Whyte (University of Melbourne) *[Wednesday, Session 9e]*
The Harlot in Romanos the Melodist and Ephrem the Syrian
The story of the sinful woman who anoints Jesus' feet is told in all four *Gospels*, but with different emphases (*Matthew* 26:6-13; *Mark* 14:3-9; *Luke* 7:36-50; *John* 12:1-8). This paper examines two later retellings of the story: a homily by the fourth-century preacher and poet Ephrem the Syrian and a *kontakion* by the sixth-century Greek hymnographer Romanos the Melodist. Romanos' poetry is indebted to classical Greek rhetoric, but also draws on other poetic and rhetorical traditions. The paper will focus on the similarities and differences between the two pieces, drawing attention to lines of influence between Syriac and Greek literature and elucidating contemporary theological concerns.

Peter Gainsford (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Wednesday, Session 7a]*
When is a Gift Not a Gift? Ambiguity and Bargaining in Homeric Gift-exchange
This paper looks at gifts in Homer that serve multiple functions, and considers the role of gift-receiver as an active one. In the *Odyssey*, receiving gifts is not just about becoming obligated; it is also about bargaining.

Analyses of gift-exchange often focus on the motivations of the giver. In Mauss' theory, adapted to early Greek society by Finley and others, gifts are not only altruistic, but also create and reinforce social ties by

creating indebtment and imposing obligations. To give a gift is to gain a future favour; conversely, to receive a gift is to become indebted.

Homeric narrative depicts certain ways for the gift-receiver to exploit this system. In the *Telemachy*, Athene and Telemachos show themselves to be very skilful at bargaining by exploiting loopholes in how value is constructed. They minimise their indebtment to gift-givers, and even reverse the flow of obligation: they manage to make gift-givers indebted to them. Likewise Odysseus, and the gifts he receives from the Phaiakians: from a pure Maussian point of view, he becomes tremendously wealthy in the short term, but faces equally tremendous costs in the long-term, since he owes reciprocity to the Phaiakians. In fact, I argue, Odysseus skillfully exploits certain loopholes in the system, to his own benefit. These characters pursue a consistent agenda of gaming the system to become wealthy, often exploiting ambiguities in whether something is or is not a gift, and what kind of gift it is.

Hospitality and gift-giving may be the basic principles of being civilised in the Odyssey, but the epic also shows us a kind of flip-side. For the epic's central characters, gift-exchange is not a zero-sum game, but a game that can be decisively won.

Phoebe Garrett (University of Newcastle)   *[Monday, Session 3b]*
What's the Use of Family Trees?
Farney (1999) discussed the concept of family advertisement as a widespread phenomenon among the aristocracy in the Roman Republic. Family advertisement involves the encouragement of certain traditions about family traits, virtues that run in the family, and great deeds performed by ancestors, and is balanced by traditions about certain families inheriting certain vices. A good reputation for a family is supposed to have its political advantages for an individual, no matter how well known that particular individual. Why should it? I want to go a step further than Farney and argue that the phenomena of family advertisement and, indeed, inherited *nobilitas*, can only function as they seem to if the Romans expected character traits to be inherited.

Miriam Gillett (Macquarie University)   *[Tuesday, Session 6a]*
A Pod of Pirates: The Etruscan Metamorphosis in Mythical Discourse
The popular tale of Dionysus and his abduction by Tyrrhenian pirates was told again and again by ancient poets and historians, with variations of it being found in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, works of Euripides, Ovid, Apollodorus, Philostratus and other references to the myth in the writings of Hyginus, Seneca, Nonnus and Longus, among several others. This paper will look closely at the different function and characterizations of the Tyrrhenian pirates within these narratives. It will also explore what the varying renditions of the myth can offer our understanding of the development of certain themes in relation to the construction of one Etruscan identity in antiquity.

Not only are we able to observe how the Etruscans have been variously represented and how their characterizations have changed over time, but this myth is particularly exceptional for it provides an uncommon opportunity to follow a story from its literary beginnings, observing it over shifting times and contexts, varying authors and intended audiences. Interestingly, the myth was not limited to literary sources in its transmission: other media – vase paintings, mosaics, friezes – were employed to represent aspects of the myth. It was possibly this poly-medial transmission that aided its survival, allowing the myth to be read in images as well as words. The reputation of this myth is clear: it crossed geographical and cultural boundaries and endured at least twelve centuries. The story's continued existence ensured the survival of the Etruscans – or one aspect of their characterization - in literature. This all culminates in the pivotal role of mythical discourse in antiquity.

Leonard Goulds (University of Western Australia)   *[Tuesday, Session 6a]*
Satyr Sensation: Marsyas as an Exemplar of Mythological Transference and Transformation
The phenomenon of cultural and religious borrowing (or, more accurately, appropriation) between the civilisations of the Classical period is a well known one among historians, particularly when manifesting as the sharing of myths and mythological figures. The satyr musician Marsyas can be seen as a particularly good example of this. By tracing him through his incarnations as a cultural hero to the Phrygians, a misguided satyr turned river god to the Greeks and a godly emissary and sometime tutelary hero to the Romans, it is possible for historians to observe not only the specifics of this individual case but also indications of the various strategies utilised by ancient cultures to harness the mythologies of their neighbours and subjects for their own purposes. Marsyas is particularly valuable for such an investigation due to the fact that both positive and negative approaches have been applied to his myth for various reasons throughout time, and the uses to which this myth can be put are likewise diverse. Indeed, the story of Marsyas could be considered to have developed many facets over the course of its existence due to continual development, and its survival into the present day can be wholly credited to its adoption by successive cultures. Thus, Marsyas and his myth can also provide evidence on the synergy between the intent of mythological appropriation and its practice, and demonstrate the long-term significance of appropriation as an institution. This presentation will consider the implications of these ideas and

other relevant aspects of Marsyas' status as a world- and culture-spanning figure in Classical history, and the impact that these can have on the modern view of both Marsyas' myth and mythological transference and transformation in general.

Vivienne Gray (University of Auckland) *[Thursday, Session 10b]*
Xenophon's Language
Xenophon is known for his unusual vocabulary, which is often associated with the time he spent out of Athens. An investigation of his use of rare words reveal some initial patterns outside this theory, such as his use of technical vocabulary, and of words that he imports in order to contrive balances in his sentences. This paper will present the results of research in progress at an early stage, with samples of the categories into which his use of rare words may fall.

Leanne Grech (University of Melbourne) *[Tuesday, Session 4d]*
From Popery to Paganism: Oscar Wilde in Greece
In April 1877, Oscar Wilde was swept off to Greece by his former tutor in Ancient History, John Pentland Mahaffy (Trinity College, Dublin). Together, they visited the grand ruins of Olympia, Mycenae and Athens at a time when Greece remained off-limits to most British tourists. At this point in time, Oscar Wilde was continuing his studies in classics at Oxford University, where he found himself in the midst of a spiritual crisis. Before travelling to Greece, he was in a state of despair after having spent years agonising over the decision to convert from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism.

My PhD thesis explores Oscar Wilde's reception of ancient Greece, specifically focusing on the tension between Christianity and Paganism, a tension that permeated Victorian classical scholarship and Wilde's literature.

In this paper, I will present an analysis of two poems that were inspired by Wilde's holiday to Greece; 'Santa Decca' and 'The Theatre at Argos.' I argue that Wilde's poems convey mixed feelings of reverence and sadness towards the myths and creative culture of ancient Greece. However, Christian content also features in these poems. At the same time as Wilde mourns for the losses of Greek antiquity, he responds to the legacy of Christianity with an attitude that alternates between resentment and longing. The worship of Christ is not enough for Wilde, and on the other hand, Paganism alone fails to settle his immediate spiritual anxieties.

From the poems, we see the beginning of Wilde's struggle to reconcile the two traditions in his life and literature.

Alison Griffith (University of Canterbury) *[Monday, Session 3e]*
Banqueting in Borrowed Space: A User's Guide to *Biclinia* in Rome and Ostia
We know from Porphyry (*De Antro Nympharum* 6) that Mithraic 'caves' were both a symbolic and functional equivalent of the universe, and yet the defining feature of mithraea all over the Empire is a pair of dining couches — a *biclinium*. This paper explores two basic questions: 1) How did the *biclinium* come to be the predominant feature of Mithraic sacred space; and 2) Where else do we find *biclinia* and who used them?

As background to the first question, I discuss the role of the Mithraic cult meal from two perspectives: J P Waltzing's assertion that organized religious groups were a species of *collegium*, and the visual evidence for a banquet as a form of ritual observance to commemorate the meal between Sol and Mithras. I then briefly discuss faunal remains of actual Mithraic banquets before turning to a survey of *biclinia* in Rome and Ostia. The extant examples are best attested in Ostia, and most are unequivocally temples to Mithras. A few resist interpretation simply because few material finds were recovered from them. Even so, the few remains reveal an intriguing pattern of recycling and reuse by different groups, and that *biclinia* were for the most part are associated with religious and ceremonial functions of these different groups.

Alison Griffith and Penny Minchin-Garvin (University of Canterbury) *[Monday, Lunchtime Special]*
Learning from Disaster: The Recovery of the Logie Collection after the Christchurch Earthquake
This paper will describe the effect of the Canterbury earthquake (4 September 2010) on the Logie Collection and the progress of the salvage process that began almost immediately afterwards. While emergency and disaster response planning is vital, the happy truth is that most plans remain untested. Our experience in coping with an actual disaster is intended to help other institutions to refine their emergency management plans.

We will offer a detailed account of the actions taken to protect the collection from aftershocks (1200+ as of 30/9/10) and to plan and carry out the complex process of bringing the objects back to a state where they can be displayed to the public. We will address issues of resourcing (human, material and spatial) required after the fact, and we will speak to the challenges of putting an effective emergency and disaster response plan in place in an educational institution where display of artworks to the public is only one of many functions.

Jon Hall (University of Otago) *[Monday, Session 3a]*

Cicero's *Brutus* and the Analysis of Oratorical Performance
Modern scholarship on Cicero's *Brutus* has generally focused on its contribution to the Atticist / Asianist controversy, a topic concerned primarily with *elocutio*, and so essentially a matter of literary criticism. This paper will explore the insights that the treatise also gives into Cicero as a critic of practical oratorical performance.

In several respects, Cicero's discussion is impressively innovative, going beyond the theoretical frameworks traditionally used for analyzing delivery. He offers observations, for example, on matters such as an orator's fluency in speech, tactical judgment, and skill in argument (see e.g. *Brut.* 178, 235, 239, 245-6). Such remarks show Cicero to have been a penetrating critic of live oratorical performance and highlight some of the qualities he considered important for real practical success.

Nevertheless, it is striking that these innovations do not extend to a candid analysis of the judicial theatrics that were regularly deployed in Roman law courts. This omission may perhaps suggest that Cicero regarded such aspects as relatively unimportant; but it is more likely that it reflects his general tendency to pass over in silence elements of showmanship that could be regarded as rather disreputable and calculatingly manipulative.

Caleb Hamilton (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 8c]*
'I Judge Between Two Brothers, to their Satisfaction' – Biographies and the Law in the Old Kingdom
Research into the legal system of the Old Kingdom brings certain moralistic terms to light that appear to reflect the process of legitimation of MAat. It is possible to show that one such term, 'I judged between two litigants, to their satisfaction,' found in tomb biographies during the Old Kingdom, was part of the filling-out and shaping of such biographies, and coincided with the large growth of moral declarations in writings during this period. Such moral declarations can be linked to the Egyptians' understanding of right and wrong, and their desire to act accordingly with MAat. Related to this is the fact that such a statement can reflect the growth in moral declarations during the Old Kingdom and can also be seen as recognition of the Egyptians' legitimation and recognition of the ideals of kingship and morality. This is done through their interactions with the king or their own actions, in behaviour that was normally performed by the king.

In biographies from the Old Kingdom we can see the exposure of royal agency present in the activities of the king's officials when going about their business both domestically and in foreign lands. Subtly broadcast through such biographies was the notion that the king was being attentive to his cosmic roles, amongst them upholding MAat. In this way, private biographies not only commemorated their owners through verbal portraits, but on another level they also made material the ideology of kingship and celebrated the strength of that authority throughout the Nile Valley.

This relates to the term 'I judge between two brothers, to their satisfaction,' in that the role of judgement was usually prescribed for the gods, as seen in the Pyramid Texts, or the gods' representative on Earth, the king. The king was able to hand this role to his officials, which became an acceptance of the role of judgement by the king and his officials and their ability to uphold MAat and ensure that this ideal was adhered to. However, did this role of judgement become so commonly accepted that it was simply just a generally used and idealised phrase, without those who inscribed it actually partaking in the role of judgement? If such officials did have a role that involved passing judgement, is this evident in the tomb owner's biographies also? With a focus on the translation of the term itself, and the context from which the term can be found in the biographies of the Old Kingdom, coupled with what is known about the legal system of Old Kingdom, we can attempt to answer these questions.

Pat Hannah (University of Otago) *[Wednesday, Session 9d]*
Soldier and Sceptre-bearer? A Question of Identification in Attic Vase Painting
On the narrow neck of a red-figure warrior-loutrophoros in Philadelphia a young man equipped as a hoplite stands opposite a sceptre-bearing and older male figure. Following Beazley's succinct designation in *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (*ARV* 841.112, 990.45), this scene has simply been identified as another example of the ubiquitous leave-takings depicted on Attic ceramics; stripped to its essential elements a soldier departs from home and is farewelled by his father. However, the additional attribute of a sceptre in the older man's hand is a significant feature in the iconography which invites further consideration and requires an explanation. This paper will examine the range of possible interpretations of sceptre-bearers in similar scenes, and suggest an alternative scenario for this particular combination.

Robert Hannah (University of Otago) *[Tuesday, Session 6d]*
A Marble Head in the Otago Museum
In 1948 the Classical collection of the Otago Museum was significantly augmented by acquisition through auction of part of the private collection of Arthur Bernard Cook, formerly Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge University and author of the monumental *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*. Considered outstanding among the items from this benefaction was an under-lifesize marble head, published by

Cook himself in 1941 as a head from one of the metopes of the Parthenon. In this paper I shall examine the provenance of this sculpture, its medium and style, and discuss a variety of different origins for it.

Andrew Hartwig (University of Sydney) *[Tuesday, Session 4b]*
Self-Censorship in Attic Old Comedy
Comic poets at the dramatic festivals of Athens are often thought to have had free rein to satirise whoever or whatever they wanted in their productions. This paper will examine the evidence for comic poets self-regulating their behaviour under certain conditions, especially in relation to political satire.

Mark Hebblewhite (Macquarie University) *[Tuesday, Session 6b]*
SIGNA FIDEI? **Did Roman Military Standards Play a Role in the Promotion of Military Loyalty?**
The array of military standards (*Signa*) carried by Roman armies engendered great respect and loyalty from both officers and the rank and file troops. As far back as the early days of the Republic individual Roman soldiers were willing to die in order to protect the *Signa*, which were symbolic of a unit's *esprit de corps* and shared record of military achievement.

During the imperial age the *Signa* took on a new role as crucial tools in imperial efforts to create a powerful bond of identity with their troops. With particular reference to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD this paper will consider the role played by the *Signa* as objects designed to inspire fidelity (*fides*) to the emperor among Roman troops. It will be argued that throughout this period the *Signa* were utilised by the imperial power to create a daily, physical reminder of their imperium, and in particular, to advertise to their troops that only they were capable of delivering victory (*victoria*) over foreign enemies.

Close examination will be made of imperial efforts to co-opt the ceremonial and religious characteristics of the *Signa* for their own political ends. It will also be demonstrated that the *Signa* were deliberately integrated into a diverse range of military loyalty rituals such as the swearing of the military oath (*sacramentum*); *adventus* processions and the distribution of *donativa* and *stipendia* payments.

Particular attention will be paid to the many imperial innovations that emerged during our period and that were designed to enhance the political potency of the *Signa*. These include:
* Changes to the physical appearance of the *Signa* such as the introduction of the 'imperial purple' (πορφύρα/*purpura*) onto *Vexilla* and *Dracones* sometime during the 3rd Century AD, and the growing importance of the imperial images (*imagines*) displayed on various types of *Signa*; and
* The introduction of new types of *Signa*, most prominently, the supposedly ubiquitous *Labarum* of the post Tetrarchic empire.

How did these innovations impact on the effectiveness of the *Signa* as political tools? And what does their introduction tell us about imperial attitudes towards the promotion and maintenance of military loyalty in the tumultuous political climate of the 3rd and 4th Centuries?

Kristin Heineman (University of Newcastle) *[Monday, Session 3e]*
Why did the Oracles of Asia Minor Flourish While Delphi Declined?
The oracle of Delphi began to decline in the centuries after the death of Alexander the Great. Just as the Pythia was giving fewer consultations, the oracles of Claros and Didyma in Asia Minor were thriving. This trend is due to an amalgamation of different causes, both immediate and underlying, but a few factors do stand out.

Economics, of both the respective regions and sanctuaries, is certainly a contributing aspect regarding the contrasting development of these oracles. The wealth of Asia Minor from the time of Alexander's death, through the Roman period, far surpasses the relative wealth of the surrounding area of Delphi, but this alone does not explain the extent of the increased popularity of Asia Minor's oracles.

The philosophical and religious climate of the times had a great impact on oracular centres. Delphi adhered to traditional religion while numerous oriental cults were becoming more accepted in Greece and Rome. Magic, theurgy, and Neo-Platonism were on the rise, and this increasing popularity needed to be authorised and internalised. The oracles of Asia Minor were more fluid and adaptable to this changing atmosphere than Delphi, and people viewed these centres as viable outlets for discussion of theological topics. The oracles of Claros and Didyma were more suited to consultation regarding the new religious and philosophical trends, as is seen from the catalogued oracles, than was their mainland counterpart of Delphi. Since Delphi was not perceived as an authority on the various issues related to the emerging religions and philosophies, the oracle was less frequented and the clientele went elsewhere to gain answers to the new, pressing questions.

This paper will examine the economic status of the oracles of Asia Minor and their surrounding areas to offer a primary historical example of the reason for this trend. Then, several extant oracles will be analysed to demonstrate the capacity of the oracles of Asia Minor to deal with the changing philosophical questions of the day, and this will be compared with the lack of questions posed to the Pythia concerning theological matters to see to what degree the perceived purpose of oracular consultation had changed. This paper will offer one explanation for the success of Claros and Didyma at the time when Delphi declined into irrelevance.

Jennifer Hellum (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 8c]*
Pepi I: The Case for Royal Personal Piety in the Old Kingdom
There is both archaeological and textual evidence from the reign of Pepi I of the Sixth Dynasty that may show that the king was a pious man. This paper will examine this evidence and compare it with that of previous Pyramid Text kings of the Old Kingdom.

Sarah Hendriks (Australian National University) *[Wednesday, Session 9a]*
Behind the Coan Silk: Penetrating the Façade of Horace's *Sermo* 1.2
Horace's *Sermo* 1.2 is notable for its explicit content and widely regarded to be all about sex. Indeed, because of this, from the mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, it was not published in its entirety, often being cut after the 24th line. It is perhaps due to this, that, to my knowledge, there is only one complete English commentary currently in circulation.

   This paper examines Horace's use of language and structure in *Sermo* 1.2 in reference to interpretation. Horace's *Sermo* 1.2 has traditionally been considered to be all about sex due to the length and nature of the content from line 28 onwards. Sex, in fact, is not even the main theme of the work. The first 28 lines of *Sermo* 1.2 are not a prelude to the extended discussion that follows, but instead outline the premise of the entire work. The discussion of social behaviour initiated in these opening lines is continued throughout the work. It is the length of the discussion of women, rather than the content itself, that makes the *Sermo* appear to be about sex. This paper examines Horace's use of language, with particular reference to dual meanings of vocabulary, to determine an overarching structure to *Sermo* 1.2 and thus, a singular uniting theme. This use of vocabulary is used to special effect in line 28 *(nil medium est)*. Horace implies more than one meaning for *medium* and it is this duality that links the first twenty-eight lines with the lengthy discussion of women and sex from line 28 onwards. It is upon the translation and interpretation of this line, that our understanding of *Sermo* 1.2 rests.

Anthony Hooper (University of Sydney) *[Tuesday, Session 4c]*
The Greatest Hop of All: Aristophanes' on Mortal Nature in Plato's *Symposium*
Aristophanes' story of the 'halfmen' is one of the most entertaining parts of Plato's *Symposium*, and it has always appealed to a wide audience due to its playful construction and fantastic imagery. But the speech's playfulness belies its philosophical complexity – a fact recognised increasingly by scholars in recent years. By comparing Aristophanes' fable with the myth of Eros' lineage in Socrates' *encomium*, I hope to demonstrate that these two figures hold very different conceptions of human nature. Where Socrates believes that mortals are resourceful creatures with the capacity for approximating divine existence, Aristophanes' position is that mortals (and even gods!) must come to accept the inescapable reality of their deficiency. It is for this reason, I argue, that Aristophanes and Socrates grant *eros* such different functions.

Greg Horsley (University of New England) *[Tuesday, Session 6d]*
A Sarcophagus with Homeric Scenes from Cyprus
This paper is in the form of a report on a recently discovered sarcophagus found in 2008 on Cyprus and already in the public domain via a booklet from the museum where it is now held. It depicts several Homeric scenes; a 5th century BC date has been proposed. The paper will consider these scenes, the basis for the dating, and some implications which such a find may have.

Vivien Howan (Massey University) *[Thursday, Session 10b]*
Three Fleets or Two?
In his account of the Corinthian War Xenophon mentions two fleets, each consisting of ten ships, sent by the Athenians to help Evagoras of Salamis in Cyprus. A ten-ship fleet in Lysias 19 is usually identified with the earlier of those in Xenophon, but in an attempt to deal with difficulties perceived as arising from this identification, P. J. Stylianou proposed a third fleet, and argued that it sailed before the other two. While this solution removes some problems, it produces others. It is, in fact, not necessary to suppose that there were three Athenian fleets sent to Evagoras, but if there were, that of Lysias 19 may not have been the first to sail. A second fleet sailing in the period between those in Xenophon would solve a chronological difficulty that results from the redating of the end of the Cypriote war to 381 BC. It is assumed by most scholars, including Stylianou, that Diodorus Siculus was correct in stating that the war lasted for about ten years, which would place its beginning and the despatch of the first fleet in 391 BC. It is also assumed that the speaker of Lysias 19 was telling the truth when he indicated that his brother-in-law, Aristophanes, had a four-to-five-year period after the battle of Cnidus in August 394 BC to spend large sums of money before being executed, probably shortly after the expedition to Cyprus on which he sailed. A sailing only three years after Cnidus would seem to be too early, unless the speaker is inaccurate in his estimation of the length of the interval, in which case Aristophanes could have sailed on the earlier of Xenophon's two expeditions.

Juin-Lung Huang (Taiwan) *[Tuesday, Session 5c]*
History and Political philosophy: the Case of the Trial of Socrates
This research project considers the following questions: should we locate political philosophy in a historical context? If the answer is positive, then how should history be used? And what would be its impact on the current discussion of political philosophy? The case to be considered here is the trial of Socrates, which is arguably one of the most important historical events in political philosophy.

There has been substantial progress in the research of ancient history since the 1980s. As a result of that progress, the image of Athens is largely improved from a corrupt city to a community that was stable and lawful to some noteworthy extent.

This new image of Athens is apparently incompatible with the traditional description in Plato's *Republic* where the city was a mob society collapsing sooner or later under the worst regime of tyranny. What can we learn from this difference of views between philosophy and history? Has the political philosopher been misled by Plato or by their own intellectual preferences? Or, is it the historians who have been misguided by their democratic inclination? We choose Athens' trial of Socrates as the case of study because of its fundamental influence on the traditional view of Athens in political philosophy.

This project is divided into three parts. First, we will consider the main theories regarding the relationship between history and political philosophy, including the theories of Quintin Skinner, Leo Strauss and Josiah Ober. Second, we will examine the recent historical research of Athenian democracy and its trial of Socrates. Finally, in light of the theoretical debate and the historical context provided in the first two parts, we will discuss the epistemic function of history in political philosophy.

Dylan James (Macquarie University) *[Monday, Session 3c]*
An Aversion to Persian? Alexander's Knowledge of the Persian Language
The Greeks were generally not fans of 'barbarian' languages. Nevertheless, there are attested examples of Greeks who learned the 'Persian language' (e.g. Themistocles, Alcibiades). On Alexander's campaigns, Arrian tells us that Peucestas adopted the Persian language and was the only one of Alexander's retinue to do so (Arr. *Anab*. 6.30.3). However, as has been pointed out, Arrian's own testimony reveals another Macedonian *diglossos* called Laomedon, who clearly knew both Greek and Persian (Arr. *Anab*. 3.6.6). So why, then, must we assume that Alexander never learned the language? There are in fact two passages in the sources in which Alexander appears to know some Persian, but they have not been examined with a view to Alexander's experience with languages. In this paper, I aim to do just that, and to place such a discussion in the context of multilingualism in the Greek world.

Paul Jarvis (University of Tasmania) *[Monday, Session 1e]*
The Sons-in-law of Marcus Aurelius: Family, Dynasty, Power
Marcus Aurelius had numerous daughters. The men he chose as husbands for them were inducted by marriage into the imperial family, and could become powerful and influential in their own right. The paper focuses on two such men, the husbands of his second daughter Lucilla. These are Lucius Verus, his co-emperor until 169, and after the death of Lucius the prominent general Ti. Claudius Pompeianus. The motivations of Marcus in choosing these men as his sons-in-law will be examined. The objectives are:
i)   to argue that his choices had less to do with any sort of abstract, philosophical 'merit' he perceived in them, and more to do with concerns of power and dynasty, and
ii) that this more pragmatic side of Marcus is often sublimated in ancient and even modern works in order to emphasise his representation as a benign philosopher-emperor.
The cases of these two men are enough to dismiss the remarks of Herodian regarding the criteria on which Marcus chose his sons-in-law: the marriages were grounded firmly in political reality and driven by the immediate needs of Marcus to protect his imperial power.

Charles Jefferies (University of Newcastle, Australia) *[Tuesday, Session 5c]*
Movement within *Republic* Book 1
The importance of the first word (κατέβην, I went down) of Plato's *Republic* is well known. (1) Socrates, as one who received a philosophical education from the (ideal) city, reluctantly descends in order to repay his debt of justice (καταβατέον, 520c.1). Conversely, the physical journey back up to the city (of Athens) metaphorically anticipates an ascent from the cave (515e). The difficult ascent is likened to the educational process.

We highlight various instances of motion (in book 1) and their utility in terms of characterization and the parturition of philosophical ideas. If we assume that the *Republic* as we have it today presents a coherent whole, then the main features and characters of book I should find their counterpart or explanation within the major themes of the *Republic*.

The outdoor scene presents an encounter between two groups of people: (i) Socrates and Glaucon his traveling companion, and (ii) Polemarchus and his associates. In addition to being outside and walking, both groups had apparently been watching a procession, as keen spectators of movement. (2) But will they be content with being mere spectators? What is required to transform lovers of spectacles into lovers of wisdom? (475ff.) What arduous journey must be undertaken to become a philosophic *theoros* who 'loves the spectacle of truth and reality'? (3) It will be argued that the depiction of these outdoor people as mobile and keen spectators is of more than peripheral significance to the major themes of the *Republic*.

Within the house of Polemarchus, the aged Cephalus soon becomes a focal point. When Cephalus greets Socrates it is in terms that deliberately contrast their states of mobility and inertia. It will be argued that the description of Cephalus as seated, along with the consequential seating arrangement, is designed to do far more than simply enhance the palpable group dynamics. An attempt will be made to demonstrate that the introductory narrative is sufficient to anticipate something of the contributions of Cephalus, Polemarchus, and Thrasymachus to the discussion of justice. Plato prepares the reader for the opinions and reasoning expressed by the interlocutors. Moreover, it will be argued that their contributions form strong links with the analogy of the cave (*Rep.* 7: 514ff.).

During his conversation with Cephalus, Polemarchus, and Thrasymachus, Socrates is content to focus on, and investigate, images or reflections of justice rather than justice herself. Prior to the discussion the interlocutors were effectively assigned to categories based on the criteria of being inside, outside, mobile, and inert. We shall argue that the words and methodologies of these interlocutors match their pre-discussion categories. Movement plays a key role in facilitating such a correspondence.

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Edward Jeremiah (University of Melbourne)   *[Monday, Session 2c]*
The Enduring Puzzle of the Dialectic of the One in Plato's *Parmenides*
The purpose of the dialectic of the one in Plato's *Parmenides* remains an enduring philosophical puzzle. I will argue that interpretations divide into two broad approaches that may be profitably labelled Kantian and Hegelian. The former thinks the antinomies or contradictory properties deduced from the hypothesis of the one demonstrate the absurdity of the hypothesis. On this view the one and its dialectic are therefore a classic example of Kantian paralogism and show the dangers of a purely theoretical reason operating in isolation and absurdities that beset the hypostatisation of metaphysical entities. The difficulty for this reading is why Plato puts an apparent demolition of the idea of the one in the mouth of its most famous proponent. On the other hand, the latter, Hegelian interpretation, thinks the antinomies demonstrate that the one transcends its contradictory predicates. Here the antinomies don't disprove the one but point to an *Aufhebung* in which they are overcome. In short, the latter view accepts the possibility of a contradiction in logos reflecting an actual contradiction in reality, while the former rejects contradiction as logically lethal and impossible. Yet if we accept a kind of Hegelian contradiction, we are vexed by the problem of how to square a theory of the forms which admits that an idea may be both *a* and not *a* with Plato's ostensible philosophical aversion to Heraclitus' theory of a flux of contraries. If, following Rickless (2007), one proposes that the theory of Forms can only be saved if we grant that they can have contradictory properties, I believe we are at risk of purchasing their survival at the expense of their comprehensibility, while also at risk of rendering Plato's theory of Forms indistinguishable from those same relativistic theories which it was formulated to oppose. My paper will seek to work through some of these difficulties and suggest that an adequate interpretation of this dialogue ultimately hinges on a better understanding of Plato's attitude to contradiction, and the perennial question whether the primary purpose of the dialogues is to present positive doctrine or a didactic template and method for the exploration and testing of ideas.

Peter Keegan (Macquarie University)   *[Monday, Session 1b]*
Roman Gaia and the Discourse of Patronage: Retrograde *C* in *CIL* VI
Varro reports that Gaia is 'celebrated above all other names' formed from the first or personal name (*praenomen*) of the husband. Cicero tells us that the use of Gaia as a 'typical woman's' name led to the fancy of lawyers that 'every woman' who entered into a kind of legal contract (*coemptio*) bore the name of Gaia. Plutarch conflates the misnomer by relaying the formula spoken by a newly espoused bride (under duress) to her husband: 'where you are Gaius, I will be Gaia.' Quintilian reifies the impression that Gaia is a typical name conventionally used of 'any woman' in his explanation of the retrograde *C*: 'Gaius is denoted by the letter *C*, while the inverse means (a) woman.' It would appear that the dominant Graeco-Roman discourse manufactures a signifier expressly suited to the symbolic transmission of a deeply embedded sociocultural premise: (a) Woman is (the) Inverse of (a) Man. This paper seeks to explore a single epigraphic manifestation of such a

pervasive discursive formation: the use of retrograde *C* in certain inscriptions of late Republican and early Augustan Rome. The tantalizing questions raised by epigraphic Gaia, in relation to the inscriptions belonging to the city of Rome and its environs (*CIL* VI), provide a fruitful point of entry into how ancient Mediterranean discourse represented and excluded individuals and groups on the margins of Roman society.

Ina Kehrberg (University of Sydney)   *[Monday, Session 3d]*
Gerasa/Jarash Seen from Below
Presentations of the urban history of Gerasa rely on studies of architectural remains, the visible and most imposing ruins belonging to the Roman and Byzantine city. From the 1920s on, Kraeling's and later studies of edifices have revealed that most architectural remains contain *spolia*, increasingly so with time and more material at hand. By the 4th century whole buildings were 'recycled' and by the 8th century the Umayyad town used public space – streets and squares – for different purposes. Scanty material evidence suggests that before and after the Mamelukes there were long periods when Jarash was almost completely abandoned, not to say forgotten. It was not until the 19th century, when Circassians were settled there by the Ottomans that Jarash revived as a township. The new 'colonists' became the last inheritors of the ancient and then still legal practice of quarrying stones from the ancient ruins for their new town: their well-built but now ruinous houses still bear witness to the fact.

Since Kraeling's et al's publication of 1938, Gerasa's urban history is still mapped vertically and horizontally using the same monuments dominating the ancient townscape, now an 'urban park,' with repeated attempts to rewrite and challenge the views expressed in the 1920-30s and later. It stands to reason, however, that the space separating these known monuments was once part of the urban growth and consciously included or excluded in early planning or use of urban space. Gerasa's 'spatial character' must have been distinct and its functions integrated in the urban make-up and life surrounding the dominant public monuments. Now historical but then political events affected the town and its public monuments and their surrounds and undoubtedly altered original panoramas in many places. Changes to these intermonumental 'transient landscapes' have been and are still being brought about by substantial spoil heaps from archaeological excavations and 'clearance.'

Excavations in Gerasa are still mainly in support of architectural projects and run by architects examining Roman, Byzantine, and recently Islamic monuments, ultimately to be restored in aid of tourism. This means that most of the 'intermonumental' urban space has remained untouched and will continue to be covered by excavated debris. Thus, after nearly two centuries of topographical, architectural and archaeological explorations we have advanced relatively little in understanding how urban space was planned and used by the Roman, Byzantine and Islamic townships of Gerasa and Jarash. Concentration on visible remains is also partly responsible for our flawed knowledge of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Gerasa.

This paper suggests a new approach: instead of reviewing architectural urban studies of Gerasa, I will present a fresh look at archaeological evidence to obtain glimpses of the ever changing urban landscape.

Douglas Kelly (Australian National University)   *[Wednesday, Session 7d]*
The Coinage of the Thracian Chersonese
The Thracian Chersonese, or Gallipoli as it might be called in Australasia, has, by virtue of its strategic location, its importance throughout the history of north-east Mediterranean. Fittingly, there are projects underway in Classics/Ancient History in Australasia that seek to explore the long history of Gallipoli and, it may be said, to cash in on the public's fascination with the name, Gallipoli.

The history of Gallipoli in classical antiquity must draw upon the evidence of coinage to supplement the meagre textual evidence and the even more meagre archaeological evidence. This paper offers a preliminary assessment of how the coinage of this region might be utilised, even if only for the questions it throws up.

Amongst such questions is how the evidence of coinage relates to the agenda and methodology of the Copenhagen Polis Project, which amidst a flood of publications has produced a massive reference work on describing and defining Greek poleis (*An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, M.H. Hansen & T H. Nielsen [edd.], OUP, 2004).

The coinage of the Thracian Chersonese is a case in point. Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.2.10 speaks of it as containing c. 399 B.C. 'eleven or twelve poleis,' (in the next breath he settles for eleven). The Copenhagen Project counts fourteen poleis, obviously differing from Xenophon in making the tally and deciding what was a polis.

Yet there are coins extant from nine poleis on Gallipoli in the fourth century B.C., one of which, Aigospotamoi, is highly problematical and of which only one, Sestos, produced coinage in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial times. In the second and third centuries A.D. Sestos is outstripped by Koila, previously an obscure hole.

Food for thought here, and even more so over the prolific silver coinage lacking any identifying legend that is assigned to the Thracian Chersonese c. 350 -300 B.C.: published sources list 123 varieties with differing

combinations of letters, symbols and pellets on the reverse, to which at least another 38 varieties can be added. Then there is the bronze coinage of the fourth century B.C. with the legend XEP or XEPPO……

The paper will be illustrated with coins from a private collection in Canberra.

Geoffrey Kemp (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 5b]*
Concepts of Censorship
Concepts of censorship differ between cultures. The discussion will focus on continuities and discontinuities between censorship in ancient Rome and in England in the 16th to the 18th centuries.

Hyun Jin Kim (University of Sydney) *[Monday, Session 3c]*
The Origins of the Greek Notion of the 'Barbarian'
The issue of Greek identity and the othering of the Barbarian in Greek literary discourse have received a fair amount of scholarly attention in the past three decades. The peoples whom the Greeks called barbarians were overwhelmingly the inhabitants of the Near East, the conquered subjects of the Persians, and the Persians themselves. Many scholars have already noted that it was the Greek experience of the Persian Wars and the unexpected Greek triumph in those conflicts that triggered the rise of Greek ethnocentrism vis-à-vis the 'Barbarian.' However, although the military dimension of Greek-Persian interrelations and the following cultural exchanges during the 5th century BC have received ample attention, little has been done to highlight the possible Persian/Near Eastern impact on Greek ethnography in the 6th century BC.

This paper will highlight the prevalence of what could be termed ethnographic and geographical inquiry in the Near Eastern world in the 6th century BC. It will also argue that Persian imperial 'ethnography' and ethnocentrism and Near Eastern geographical inquiry heavily influenced the Greek/Ionian representation of the world in the late 6th century and that this had a direct impact on the formulation of the rhetoric of Greek-Barbarian antithesis and was also instrumental in the articulation of a Panhellenic Greek identity.

Daniel Knox (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Tuesday, Session 5e]*
Saint Martin and Tours
The Cult of Saint Martin dominated life in the Gallic city of Tours in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D. The holy relics of the saint and the associated holy sites were focal points for the construction and display of personal status and position within the community. St. Martin was the yardstick by which social norms were established and enforced within the community which surrounded his tomb. This role was created for him by his chief clients, the bishops of Tours.

This paper examines the construction of the relationship between the community of Tours and the cult of St. Martin. I argue that the cult practices promoted by the bishops of Tours emphasised the community's relationship with St. Martin while preventing other groups, for example Frankish royalty, from building significant relationships with the saint and his relics. By orientating the community around the persona of St. Martin bishops such as Perpetuus and Gregory attempted to maintain their own authority in the community and regulate Christian practice in the Touraine. I aim to highlight the importance of relics and cult practices in creating a Christian community at Tours.

I will draw on evidence from the writings of Gregory of Tours, particularly *De Virtutibus Beati Martini Episcopi* and the *Historiae Francorum*, as well as a group of inscriptions and writings dating from the fifth century cult practices.

Ioannis Lambrou (University College, London) *[Wednesday, Session 7a]*
Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσίτην ἀναιρεῖ λοιδορηθείς: **from the** *Aethiopis* **to the** *Iliad*
The conflict scene between Thersites and Odysseus in the *Iliad* (2.211-277) has been much discussed, but within this the ambivalent figure of Thersites has certainly drawn the most scholarly interest. The main reason behind this is the fact that his portrayal is at best fragmentary: he is deprived of patronymic and homeland; he is depicted as an obnoxiously ugly figure, though he is given some telling points to make; he comes out of the blue, to disappear into eternal speechlessness on being chastised by Odysseus. However, the fact that Thersites is described as loose-tongued with a head full of 'vulgar abuse, reckless insubordinate attacks on the kings' (*Il.* 2.212-214) especially Achilles and Odysseus to whom he was the 'most hateful' (*Il.* 2.220-221), suggests that this is not his debut in epic tradition. Odysseus' hatred needs no further explanation; yet, where does Achilles' enmity originate from? This conflict scene between Thersites and Odysseus must be seen as one out of many episodes in which Thersites assumes a similar role. In particular, the reference to conflict between Thersites and Achilles invites comparison with an episode in the *Aethiopis*. In each case, Thersites' offensive speech results in immediate punishment, the consequences of which are reflected on the reaction of the army.

Neoanalysis has traditionally employed a 'source-and-recipient model' to claim that the Iliadic Thersites scene is composed of elements taken from an identifiable context in the *Aethiopis*. Though suggestive, such an approach misses the dialogue between these two scenes, and cannot determine if and how 'Homer' can in any

way benefit from the reciprocal dynamics between them. In sharp contrast, this paper, focusing closely on the competitive framework of performance poetry, proposes a specific cross-reference between the *Iliad* and the tradition represented in the *Aethiopis* in which the *Iliad* uses the figure of Thersites as an inter-textual tool as part of a self-reflexive poetic strategy.

This paper aims to advance not only an original reading, but one which is sharply divergent from previous treatments of the Thersites episode in the *Iliad*. To argue for the validity of this interpretation will require a close analysis of the following key aspects: the portrayal of Thersites in Book Two and his key role within the wider context of the *Iliad*; the figure of Thersites as seen in both textual and iconographic sources and his role within the wider epic and non-epic tradition; the analogies, both positive and negative, between the Iliadic and the Aethiopic tradition in light of the role of Thersites in the *Iliad*. Finally, it will be necessary to relate this interpretation to the *Iliad* as a whole, with particular focus on the self-reflective strategy pursued by the poem.

Nathan Leber (University of Western Australia) *[Monday, Session 3a]*
Tied to the Apron Strings of Servilia: the Compliance of Brutus in Cicero
A consistent theme in the correspondence of Cicero after Caesar's death is the depiction of M. Iunius Brutus in relation to his family, particularly his mother, Servilia Caepionis. Cicero, at times, uses this relationship to paint a picture of Brutus as a cautious and compliant individual, influenced by his domineering mother. This portrait is further enhanced through comparisons with the defiant and aggressive image of C. Cassius Longinus. This paper will investigate the depiction of Brutus under the control of his mother in order to identify Cicero's motive behind this unflattering image of the would-be 'saviour of Rome.'

Marcia Leenen (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 9b]*
The Nature of Roman Diplomacy in the Greek East
The contradictory embassies sent by the Romans to the Achaeans in 147 B.C.E., just prior to the outbreak of the Achaean War, have never been fully explained. The first embassy demanded the severing of some of the most influential cities of the League, which would lead to its dissolution. The second did not address this first demand at all and simply reprimanded Achaean behaviour. These embassies directly contributed to the fall of Corinth and the last stronghold against the Romans in Greece, and so should help us form conclusions about the motivations of both the Romans and the Achaeans in this war. Like many of the Roman's overseas relations, the attitude of the senate towards the Achaean League seems reactionary rather than driven by clear policy. The Romans had no consistent diplomatic machinery such as we do in the modern world, so had no official mechanism for maintaining peaceful relations or consistent foreign policy. This is complicated by the actions and motivations of those individuals on diplomatic missions. This paper will look at the diplomatic actions of the Romans in the Greek East and the changes in Roman policy from 200-146 B.C.E., with a focus on the contradictory embassies to the Achaean League in 147 B.C.E.

Parshia Lee-Stecum (University of Melbourne) *[Monday, Session 3b]*
Nigidius Figulus and the Magic Boys: the Roman Uses of Some Very UnRoman Arts
Magic, astrology and unsanctioned divination mark the limits of Romanness. Foreign and often threatening, such arts provide the Roman elite with useful categories for defining and contesting the boundaries of their identity and culture. On some occasions, and in some texts, this process can seem reasonably straightforward. Astrologers and magicians become the targets of official expulsions from Rome and Italy, or are banned altogether, on several occasions from the second century BCE through to the late first century CE and beyond. Legal charges of magic (*veneficium*) and unsanctioned astrological practice were linked with treason in the early imperial period. Magic is emphatically external and bitterly opposed to all that Rome stands for in texts such as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. Witches and diviners are represented as variously ridiculous, sinister and monstrous throughout Latin literature of the late republican and imperial periods.

In such a context, Publius Nigidius Figulus (died 45 BCE) stands as an apparent anomaly. A magistrate, senator and imperial administrator, Figulus is represented in Roman texts as an astrologer, diviner, Pythagorean philosopher and, on occasion, magician. But while association with such beliefs and practices usually works to marginalise and exclude in Roman elite discourse, there is surprisingly little anxiety expressed about Figulus' esoteric pursuits.

Modern assessments of Figulus as a harmless eccentric or hobbyist, a Varronian-style polymath, or a cosmopolitan intellectual explorer only partially explain the apparent inconsistencies of this intriguing figure and his representation in later Roman tradition. A detailed reconsideration of the inter-relationship between the two aspects of Figulus (Roman senator and astrologer/magician) may expand our understanding of Roman elite identity.

Taking its title from Apuleius' famous story of divination, this paper argues that Figulus' interests and works are in fact consistent with the self-identity of a Roman aristocrat and imperialist. By appropriating, categorising, reconfiguring and redirecting otherwise foreign and threatening forms of knowledge and power,

Figulus aligns himself with Roman imperial strategies. He both reaffirms and extends the role of the aristocrat within the imperial project. In retrospect, this might seem an extension too far, but the early imperial traditions about Nigidius Figulus locate in the senator/astrologer a potent means of exploring the permeability of ethno-cultural boundaries and the expansiveness of Roman identity.

Rather than the exception that proves the rule, the case of Figulus reveals how the least Roman of arts can work to consolidate, empower and extend Roman elite ideology.

Catherine Legg (University of Waikato) *[Tuesday, Session 6c]*
***Peras* and *Apeiron* in Plato and Peirce**
In response to the one-many problem the *Philebus* presents a distinction between 'limit' (*peras*) and 'the unlimited' (*apeiron*). By contrast to contemporary analytic philosophy's attempt to solve the problem by reifying particulars and universals as distinct entities, this distinction is arguably 'pre-ontological' insofar as *peras* and *apeiron* must combine to make any existent entity. The distinction is most fully articulated in Plato's famous four-fold division between (in order): the unlimited, limits, the 'mixed class,' and the mixtures' cause. We argue that it is very fruitful to put this framework up against Charles Peirce's three most fundamental philosophical categories – which likewise are not entities themselves but modes of being. It is argued that *apeiron* bears much in common with Peirce's 'Firstness,' *peras* with his 'Secondness,' and that his 'Thirdness' might be understood as both mixtures and their cause. The result, it is argued, is a new sense of universals as a harmonious living normative force in reality, updated (*via* Peirce) with ideas from evolutionary theory and the modern logic of relations.

Jacob L. Mackey (Stanford University) *[Monday, Session 1b]*
The Augural Law between Priests and Magistrates: Roman 'Legalism' Reconsidered
At least since Mommsen, scholars have identified a legal paradigm at the heart of Roman religion. This legalism has variously been judged to render Roman religion 'cold' and 'prosaic' (Cumont) or to signal a Roman 'scrupulousness' about proper ritual practice (Beard, North & Price). Such judgments range between the uncharitable and the not terribly illuminating. What is worse, scholarly assessments of Roman legalism fail to distinguish between two different kinds of laws and hence fail to do true justice to the role of laws in Roman religion.

In this paper I propose to reconsider 'legalism' in Roman religion through an examination of the augural law as it pertains to priests and as it pertains to magistrates. I will seek to characterize the provisions of the augural law in light of a distinction proposed by Rawls and further elaborated by Searle, i.e., the distinction between 'constitutive' rules and 'regulative' rules. Briefly, regulative rules govern an antecedently existing activity, such as driving. But constitutive rules make certain activities and institutions possible as such, e.g., the rules of chess, without which there would be no such game. I will argue that the augural law functions as primarily a body of regulative rules where it pertains to the political activities of magistrates. But where it pertains to augurs, the augural law serves to constitute the very possibility not only of their sacerdotal activities, such as inauguration, but of their priestly status itself. In other words, the richly detailed body of augural law had not merely a regulatory function but also a creative function, making possible an entire range of 'institutional facts'—such as priests, *templa*, and the city of Rome itself, as defined as a *locus inauguratus* within the *pomerium*—that could not have existed without it. Roman 'legalism' will thus be seen neither as 'cold' nor as a result of some anxious Roman 'scrupulousness,' but rather as a marker of the Romans' sophistication and advancement in the disposition of their social world. For the Roman augural law, so conceived, constitutes the precondition of the possibility of a richly stratified and variegated set of religious institutions that significantly extended the cognitive and practical potential of Roman religious life.

Bonnie MacLachlan (University of Western Ontario) *[Wednesday, Session 7b]*
***Isonomia* in Gortyn**
A sea-change was effected in Archaic Greece when cities began to codify their laws. Routinely inscribed on stone in a public space, these laws offered a new degree of security for local populations. Of the surviving inscriptions those erected during the late 6th and the 5th centuries BCE in the Cretan city of Gortyn stand out for their clarity and comprehensiveness. But they are remarkable in another way – for the extensive protection they afforded not only the citizens of Gortyn but its women, its servile population and even foreigners.

Gortyn's *Great Code* (*IC* 4.72, 5th century) is a stunning document, focusing primarily on family and property law, and carefully inscribed in 12 columns on stones arranged as a circular wall that, when intact, would have had a diameter of nearly 100 feet and perhaps formed the base of a law-court. When compared with Athenian legal practice of the same period, the *Great Code* and its predecessors such as *IC* 4.64 reflect a type of *polis* justice that is strikingly different. I cite here but a few examples:
• a foreigner is rewarded with the provision of citizen's justice, land, a house and exemption from taxation by a vote of all Gortyn (*IC* 4.64.2-5)

- if a person forces intercourse on a female household slave, the slave's oath takes precedence (*GC* 2.11-16)
- fines are established for rape, forcible intercourse, seduction and adultery, with penalties imposed for a free man imposing sex on a male or female serf or slave (*GC* 2.7-15)
- if a slave marries a free woman, the children will be free if the family lives with the mother (*GC* 6.56 - 7.2)
- if a person is seized before a trial and there is disagreement over whether this is a free person or slave, the judge will decide on the side of witnesses claiming the person is free (*GC* 1.15-18)
- if there are no direct heirs to an estate, the property of the deceased may devolve to the household serfs (*GC* 5.25-28)
- in the case of divorce, the wife keeps the property she brought to the marriage and half its produce, along with half of whatever she has woven, plus five staters if the husband is the cause of the divorce (*GC* 2.45-54)

What accounts for the relative liberalism of the Gortynian laws? Offering a fuller account of the protective measures awarded to potentially vulnerable individuals in this Cretan city, the paper will highlight the ways in which fairness was built into its law codes. It will argue that the Gortynians took seriously the Archaic Greek belief in a collective distribution of wealth and fortune, reflected in such terms as *nomos*, *moira* etc. Could this account for the installation of Minos as judge in the underworld?

Christopher Malone (University of Sydney) *[Tuesday, Session 6e]*
The Belt Maketh the Man: *Cingulum* and Hierarchy in the Late Empire
The Later Roman Empire possessed a social system strongly focussed on hierarchy. Rank was displayed in many ways: in titles, deportment, and in particular through clothing. How one dressed encoded social relations. This was not exactly new - the Romans had long seen themselves as the *gens togata* – but the symbols and, often, their meanings had changed. One particular symbol, highly prominent and visible in its day, but now too often taken for granted, was the military belt, the *cingulum*. Traditionally part of the military kit, *cingula* in the Late Empire came to symbolise a great deal more. Both the soldiery and the imperial bureaucracy wore the belt: from the raw recruit and paper pusher all the way up to the illustrious members of court, the bearing of the *cingulum* came to indicate someone of importance to the state (although not all belts had equal value). This paper examines the *cingulum militiae* of Late Antiquity as both physical object and symbol. In looking at who wore the belt, who was banned from it, and who put it on anyway, I aim to provide a new window on the official hierarchy and social structure of the Late Roman Empire.

Bruce Marshall (ASCS Honorary Secretary) *[Wednesday, Session 8b]*
 'Where Have All the Leaders Gone?' A Possible Reason for the Failure of the Sullan Senate
Christian Meier has put forward the view that the failure of the Sullan senate in Rome in the 70s BC was because there were very few consulars still alive after the civil wars and proscriptions of the 80s. It was the *principes*, the men of consular rank, in the senate, he argues, whose role it was to uphold the senate's authority and see to it that its code of conduct was observed. Their absence in the 70s, combined with the presence in the senate of new members who had not risen gradually to prominence under the guidance of the *principes* and so were not imbued with the senatorial tradition, explains why the restored Sullan senate proved incapable of leading the Roman state. An analysis of the list of consuls from the end of the 80s to the late 70s shows just how few *principes* were active within the senate and political life generally, which makes Meier's case plausible. But were there other factors at play?

Mark Masterson (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Tuesday, Session 6e]*
The Visibility of 'Queer' Desire in Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers*
In this paper, I consider the visibility of male homosexual desire that is excessive of age-discrepant and asymmetrical pederasty within a fourth-century CE Greek text: Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.2.3-7 (Civiletti/*TLG*); Wright 459 (pp. 368-370). I call this desire 'queer' because desire between men or for a man by another male was not normative in the way pederastic desire was.

My claim is that desire for a mature man and probably between mature men is to be found in this text from the late-Platonic milieu. Plausible reception of Eunapius' work by an educated readership argues for this visibility and the foundation for my argument is the fact that this portion of Eunapius' text is intertextual with Plato's *Phaedrus* (255B-E): Eunapius shows the philosopher Iamblichus calling up two spirits (in the form of handsome boys) from two springs called, respectively, *eros* and *anteros*. This intertextuality with Plato makes for interesting reading as the circuits of desire uncovered reveal that Iamblichus is both a subject and object of desire. Reading this episode from Eunapius with Plato suggests that what we are so often told about male/male sexual desire in antiquity (i.e., that only pederastic desire, normatively arranged, is visible) is in need of nuance, for men in possession of the *paideia* (and this most emphatically includes ancient readers of this work by Eunapius) would perceive the presence of this desire because of the erudition that was their possession.

Christopher Matthew (Macquarie University) *[Monday, Session 1c]*
Greek Hoplites in an Ancient Chinese Siege
Ancient Chinese chronicles for the year 36 BC record the presence of a group of soldiers in a strange formation operating in the defence of a city in northern Sogdiana which was besieged by Han Chinese. But who were these men and where had they come from? It has been hypothesized that these men were captured Roman legionaries who were acting as mercenaries more than 2,000 km beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. It has been further hypothesized that these men, with the fall of the city, were taken even further east and settled in a new city within Chinese territory especially built to house them, and named after their homeland – Rome. However, a review of the available evidence, an understanding of the characteristics of different ancient military formations, and the examination of DNA samples taken from local populations indicates that these soldiers were not transplanted Roman legionaries at all. The evidence indicates that these soldiers in the strange formation were, in fact, local men descended from the army of Alexander the Great, fighting in the manner of the classical Greek hoplite, 300 years after Alexander had passed through the region.

Paul McKechnie (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7e]*
Free Will Vindicated: the Debate between Aberkios and Euxeinianos
In the (fourth or) fifth-century *Life of Aberkios*, the saint meets Euxeinianos, whose mother he has just cured of blindness. His mother has told him that Aberkios teaches 'that the same God is at one time good and benevolent, and at another time fearsome and just; and at one time, as being good, he rewards and does good to those who do good deeds, and at another time, as being just, he defends against and punishes those who do wicked deeds.' How, Euxeinianos asks, can one believe in the same God being both good and just?

    A sort of platonic dialogue follows, about God, God's commandments, and the human capacity to do good or do evil. Euxeinianos is easy to persuade, being more accommodating than most of Socrates' interlocutors. In this paper the dialogue will be examined, and related to biblical, platonic and patristic intertexts.

Janette McWilliam (University of Queensland) *[Wednesday, Session 7b]*
The Use and Abuse of Children in Roman Society
This paper will examine Roman case law, Imperial rescripts and other sources of evidence dealing with the abuse of children (physical abuse, the defrauding of children (property and other forms of inheritance), failure of guardians to provide adequate food, shelter, moral guidance, disputes over the custody of children etc. Roman law is especially useful for reflecting behaviour that contravened social and moral expectations. Moreover, petitions by individuals, particularly in the second century AD, drew Roman Emperors into the sphere of private law. For example, from the reign of Hadrian at least, *ius publicum* provided the majority of judgments in cases involving *pupilli* and *tutores* recorded in the *Digest*. What was the position of a child who was involved in a legal dispute? What can this information tell us about the relationship(s) between children below the age of puberty and adults? This study will demonstrate that legal disputes provide important information on the legal, social and economic position of children in Roman society.

John Melville-Jones (University of Western Australia) *[Wednesday, Session 8d]*
Two Important Coins help Dating at Pompeii
In the House of the Ancient Hunt, indentations on walls made by a coin when the building was being redecorated led to a firm dating for the redecoration. A coin found in the House of the Golden Bracelet provides further evidence which suggests that the traditional date for the eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed the city (August 24, A.D. 79) is wrong, and that the destruction of the city occurred later in the same year.

Sebastian Momtazi (King's College, London) *[Wednesday, Session 9a]*
The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche: Apuleius' Use of Catullus 64
In this paper I will propose that Catullus 64 is a key component in the composition of Apuleius' Cupid and Psyche narrative. This is not to ignore the presence of a varied intertextuality within the work, but to suggest the prominence of this Catullan feature. Apuleius signifies the overarching importance of 64 within the narrative through a series of structural similarities: from the Nereids near the start through to Psyche's abandonment by a Cupid whom she has only known through sexual intercourse and to the wedding at the end. Indeed, the congregation of the gods at both wedding celebrations also signposts links. This encourages us to be alert to references to 64, and to be particularly sensitive to them when there may be ambiguity or layered allusion which might point towards that poem. The ending of the Cupid and Psyche narrative, with the mention of Voluptas as the product of the marriage, echoes – and thematically inverts – the focus on Achilles and his victims at the end of 64. The paper will also explore lexical and thematic similarities to 64, showing its consistent presence in Apuleius' Cupid and Psyche. Thus, at 5.18, when Psyche is anguished at the revelations of her sisters, Apuleius signposts 64 in *extra terminum mentis suae posita prorsus omnium mariti monitionum* ... (echoing Theseus and his father) and the poem is then directly evoked in *sese praecipitavit* (5.18 and 64.244), and the recurrent trope

of suicidally throwing oneself from a rock (both within and without the tale). I will finally examine the implications Apuleius' reception of 64 has for our own reading of Catullus' poem and analyse how the ways in which Apuleius uses it might underline its importance in the Latin literary canon.

Gary Morrison (University of Canterbury) *[Thursday, Session 10d]*
Cultural Conflict in *Second Maccabees*
Second Maccabees has traditionally been interpreted as an important text in depicting cultural conflict in the Second Century BC: Jews are set against Greeks (or Hellenised peoples), and Hellenism confronts Judaism. Recent scholarship, however, has questioned this interpretation, suggesting instead that Seleucid policies and 'the surrounding nations' should be seen as the threat. To an extent this argument is persuasive, some form of Hellenistic Judaism existed from at least the third century BC. Yet a careful examination of literary constructs and repeated patterns in *Second Maccabees* suggests that the epitomiser may perceive (some) Hellenic institutions and ideas as a threat to Judaism. This paper identifies these patterns, and suggests that some form of cultural conflict is, in fact, evident.

Peter Mountford (University of Melbourne) *[Tuesday, Session 6a]*
Aeneas: An Etruscan Foundation Legend
In 1967 Konrad Schauenburg published in *Gymnasium* an article on Aeneas and Rome. The basis of his article was an examination of Greek vases depicting the flight of Aeneas from Troy. This paper considers his paper and the scholarship which has resulted from it. The paper extends the list of vases given by Schauenburg and looks for conclusions which can be drawn from the available evidence about Aeneas as an Etruscan legend. Finally, it attempts to explain how the legend may have moved from Etruria to Rome. It will be a powerpoint presentation with pictures of relevant vases.

David Nolan (University of Tasmania) *[Tuesday, Session 6b]*
Thematic and Reconstructive Aspects of Battle, *Bellum Gallicum* **1.47-54**
Understanding the details of battle in the *Bellum Gallicum* involves balancing the extent to which Caesar was attempting to reconstruct the circumstances of the battle, against his purpose of reinforcing the literary objectives of the work. Through an examination of the battle against Ariovistus and the Germani in Book One, it is possible to identify reconstructive or causal elements in the account. However it can also be seen that thematic connections largely determined the manner in which Caesar portrayed the course of the fighting.

In particular, Caesar constructed the account to address paradigms he himself had established, such as the myth of Germanic ferocity, which was raised in his account of the mutiny at Vesontio. Combat mechanics, episodes within the battle, and circumstances around the fighting such as topography all have a thematic connection to the antecedent passages. This relationship is fundamental to the presentation and often determines the inclusion of information. Pieced together, the various episodes within the battle can appear to track the course causally, but often their selection was thematic, in order to show Roman mastery over the enemy, and not a reconstruction of the relationship between battlefield events.

In this regard the battle narrative should not be viewed as self contained, with an objective of explaining the result. Some causal information regarding the battle is forthcoming, however it is not the primary purpose of the passage. Literary concerns play a role and significantly affect the reconstructive aspects, thereby illustrating a predominance of thematic over causal connections in the warfare of the *Bellum Gallicum*.

Brent Nongbri (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7e]*
John of Damascus and the Development of the Category of Religion
Likely born fifteen to twenty-five years after Damascus came under Arab rule in 635 C.E., John of Damascus lived simultaneously in Christian and Muslim worlds. He was a well-educated Christian serving in the administration of the Arab caliph in Damascus. His writings thus provide an interesting lens through which to view the some of the ambiguities associated with the development of the concept of religion. This paper is concerned with the list of Christian heresies attributed to John (*De haeresibus*). In this work, one finds included alongside traditional Christian heresies the 'heresy of the Ishmaelites,' a group of people founded by one 'Mamed' and identified by their adherence to the Qu'ran—in short, what modern scholars designate as the religion of Islam. Yet, John classifies these Ishmaelites as both a θρησκεία and a αἵρεσις. I argue that clues from the history of Christian heresiology suggest we should place more stress on the second of those terms and recognize that John constructs the Ishmaelites not as a separate religious group but rather as faulty Christians. John's organizational scheme thus represents an interesting episode in the genealogy of the category of religion.

Brent Nongbri (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 8e]*
Creative Thinking, Or, How to Create a Corpus of 'Second Century' Papyri of the *New Testament*

Since the appearance in 1953 of an influential (4-page) article by the papyrologist C.H. Roberts, a number of biblical scholars have argued for a reassessment of the dates assigned to many papyrus fragments of the *New Testament*. They argue that the small number of papyri generally assigned to the second century ought to be more than doubled, and some scholars go further, arguing that some papyrus copies of the *New Testament* ought to be dated in as early as the first century. Part of the motivation for this move seems to be a desire to have 'hard' evidence to confirm the orthodox narrative of Christian origins (as represented, for example, in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea): namely, that there was, at an early date, wide geographical distribution of the documents that came to be regarded as the canonical *New Testament*. These biblical scholars have used a series of creative techniques of argumentation to try to make this case, and, although most trained papyrologists understandably either ignore or look askance at their work, in some instances, the conclusions reached by this imaginative group of biblical scholars have entered into more 'mainstream' scholarship. This paper examines some test cases of individual papyri to show the steps involved in creating a corpus of second century Christian papyri.

Liesl Nunns (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Wednesday, Session 9a]*
Reading Alcaeus in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*
The embedded quotation is a mixed blessing for the modern critic of now-fragmented lyric poetry. The sheer joy felt at having a whole line or a whole stanza preserved, and perhaps even commented upon, is tempered by the realization that the textual context itself might lend colour or emphasis in an unhelpful way.

Athenaeus preserves such quotations from Alcaeus' poetry. Athenaeus' banqueter Democritus draws particular attention to Alcaeus' love of drinking. In this paper, I consider the role of literary context and authorial agendas in our approach to these embedded quotations of Alcaeus. Should we avoid taking Athenaeus' word on these texts and consider the poems to be unavoidably 'tainted' by his perspective, or should we look to him, as an ancient reader of Alcaeus, for instruction and defer to his interpretations? The answer, I suggest, occupies a hazardous middle-ground between these extremes.

In considering Alcaeus and, more specifically, Alcaeus' love of drinking in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, my main purpose is to highlight the problematic role that ancient readers play in shaping our own. With this in mind, I propose readings of Alcaeus' drinking poems that have more dexterity than Democritus' comments allow. As a corollary of this enterprise, I also seek to elucidate something of Athenaeus' text as well as those of Alcaeus. By questioning the intent behind Athenaeus' use of Alcaeus, we might excavate something of his methodology.

James O'Maley (University of Melbourne) *[Wednesday, Session 8a]*
Paradigm Introductions and Mytho-historical Knowledge in the *Iliad*
Throughout the *Iliad*, the poem's characters reach for the past as a way of explaining the situations in which they find themselves. Almost every situation can be elucidated using some paradigmatic story from the corpus of mytho-historical knowledge to which all characters seem to have access in almost equal measure. But the ways in which they gather their knowledge are not always transparent, and in many cases the details of the paradigms that they offer are contested by their audience, not because of their inappropriateness, but because of their inaccuracy. In particular, paradigms relating to what we might think of as 'epic stories' (tales that, like the Trojan War itself, provided the opportunity for heroic epic song) are often hotly contested by their audience, who offer revisions, additions, and even outright contradictions to the original paradigms presented to them. This in turn raises some interesting questions about the ways in which Homeric characters, and the poet himself, approach the past, and the ways in which they present accurate knowledge about the past as being possible.

When the characters introduce these tales, they utilise a number of different narrative strategies, each of which has differing implications, and affects their internal and external audiences in different ways. For instance, Nestor begins a digression in Book 1 about the deeds of his younger days with a first person introduction and an exhortation for those younger than him to listen, while Phoinix similarly uses a first person introduction to tell the story of Meleagros in Book 9, but qualifies this by admitting that it is one of the general set of stories from the past that 'we have heard of.' Agamemnon, on the other hand, introduces his story about Tydeus by admitting that he never met the man, but that he relies for his information on what 'those who saw him' say about him. These three introductions each evoke different levels of authority, and therefore provoke different responses from both the internal audience to the story, who can actively or passively accept its truth, or challenge it in any number of ways, and the external audience of the Iliad, whose own knowledge of these stories is mediated through other influences, and other epics.

This paper will look at the various strategies used by Iliadic characters to introduce these paradigms in the light of these issues, and will investigate the ways in which both the poet himself and his characters are able to manipulate the past, both for narrative and metapoetic effect.

Jennifer Oliver (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Tuesday, Session 5a]*

Achilles' Sister and her Seductive Wiles: Female Homoeroticism in Statius' *Achilleid*
This paper reads the relationship between the cross-dressed Achilles and Deidameia in Statius' *Achilleid* in terms of female homoeroticism, an angle from which it has seldom been approached. When it comes to sexuality and gender, the *Achilleid* has a powerfully subversive undertone, and it is only by focussing on its conceptions of femininity, both normative and eccentric, as much as of masculinity that its full subversive force becomes apparent (an approach adopted, at least to a point, by Heslin 2005). Although the text tells an invaluable story about masculine enculturation and anxiety (cf. Barchiesi 2005), what it has to say about the hidden lives of women is perhaps just as piquant.

My primary reading strategy is to treat the cross-dressed Achilles as a character in 'her' own right, as the inhabitants of Scyros perceive her; this character I refer to as 'Pyrrha.' Statius treats Achilles' transformation in part as a divinely-enacted metamorphosis rather than simple transvestism, and the resultant character is a fascinating blend of Amazon, Spartan and virginal Dianic huntress. She transgresses feminine norms, yet the Scyrians have no difficulty in reading her as a woman rather than a cross-dressed man, for a considerable period of time.

Thus, 'her' erotically-tinged interactions with Deidameia in the exclusively homosocial environment of Lycomedes' court constitute a representation of potentially female-homoerotic desire and activity. My paper excavates hints of Deidameia's perspective on the relationship and departs from the scholarly orthodoxy that posits a quick realization from Deidameia that Pyrrha is a man. Close attention to small details in the text (lines 1.560-591 especially) and Statius' framing of time indicates that, although Deidameia's mindset is difficult to determine exactly, it is plausible that a reader could perceive an erotic attraction on her part to a character she considers to be a woman.

Furthermore, the Scyrians do not seem to consider the eroticized interaction between Pyrrha and Deidameia unusual, as is indicated by their indifference to Deidameia's ardent embraces of Pyrrha at the reception of Ulysses and Diomedes (1.767-771), among other details. This seeming indifference to homoerotic flirtation points to a space for it to flourish, and such a space is perhaps also represented by the Bacchic festival at which Achilles rapes Deidameia. What is merely hinted at and rapidly passed over reveals the extent of the closed world of exclusive female homosociality in which female homoeroticism appears to be unremarkable.

In conclusion, I contend that the *Achilleid* should be considered as evidence for female homoeroticism in the context of Latin literature. Though its subtlety and ambiguity preclude an explicitly genital-sexual interpretation, it nonetheless represents female homoerotic desire and social (non-)responses to such desire.

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Lara O'Sullivan (University of Western Australia) *[Tuesday, Session 4b]*
Censorship and the Symposium
The symposium may seem, at first glance, an unusual site for a consideration of censorship in classical Greece. Yet in some ways the symposium offers an ideal tool for the exploration of the nature of censorship and its evasion. Some ancient authorities would claim that it was in the symposium, under the liberating influence of wine, that true *parrhesia*, the much-lauded virtue of democratic *praxis* (so Dem. 9.3), was practised: so Philochorus (*FGrH*. 328 F170). The essentially private nature of symposiastic gatherings will have further encouraged a more lively freedom of speech, while the cultivation of different forms of exchange within symposiastic circles — the preponderance, for example, of singing and of quotation of poetry — may also have facilitated the expression, in more allusive and indirect ways, of 'dangerous ideas.' On these bases, one might expect that the symposium made possible the open expression of views which, in a more public arena, may have been subject to censorship (both formal and informal); indeed some of the distrust manifest towards symposiastic gatherings by the Athenian democracy may be associated with the expression within these private gatherings of ideas which might not be tolerated in public discourse. My paper will examine the function of the symposium as a vehicle for the expression of subversive views, and investigate the possible function of the expression of censured views as a tool for cementing group identity and allegiance. (The alleged profanation of the Mysteries within a number of symposiastic groups, particularly in the wake of the furore about Diagoras of Melos' published attack on the Eleusinian rites, is of particular interest here.) I will also touch upon the evidence for and possible contexts of legislative restrictions of freedom of speech within the symposia of classical Greece, such as the law cited by Hyperides (*Phil*. F21.3 Whitehead) against speaking and singing derogatory things about the tyrannicides.

Patrick O'Sullivan (University of Canterbury) *[Monday, Session 1a]*
Friends of Dionysos: *Philia* in Euripides' *Cyclops*

Much has been written in recent years on the nature of friendship or *philia* in Greek literature and society, not least concerning tragedy as a genre in which violations of *philia* occur and are explored on many levels. This paper discusses the role of *philia* in Euripides' satyr play *Cyclops* and argues that a key element in the identity of the chorus of satyrs is the emphasis on the *philia* they share with the absent god Dionysos, whose presence is invoked throughout the play. At the same time *philia* is forged between the satyrs and Odysseus, the wandering hero who frees them from the brutal subjugation they suffer at the hands of Polyphemos, whose hostility to Dionysos makes him an ogre well-suited to satyric drama. *Philia* in *Cyclops* takes various twists and turns, some comical, others more poignant, and is a deep-running concern of the drama that also has implications for the characterisations of major figures in the play. While satyrs have been noted as the 'anti-types' of the ideal male citizen, or 'ithyphallic males behaving badly,' their relationship to their patron god, especially as one who blurs boundaries, also needs to be taken into account. Not only are the satyrs the self-professed slaves of Dionysos, they are also his friends; so too, by implication, are Odysseus and his men.

Kevin O'Toole (University of Western Australia) *[Monday, Session 1c]*
The Athenian Βασιλεύς and the Strange Notion of a Vestigial Priest King
In attempting to give an account of the demise of Greek monarchies ancient authorities, not least Aristotle, conceived of monarchy as fissionable, so that the king's sovereignty could be partitioned. Thus, for example, the Athenian βασιλεύς, often referred to in modern scholarship as the 'king archon,' is conceived of as the priest remnant of an original monarchy, with the *archon* (often referred to as the 'eponymous archon') and the polemarch as remnants respectively of the secular and the military elements of the original monarchic sovereignty. Modern classical and anthropological scholarship has tended to uncritically accept the ancient conception of a fissionable monarchy, where the monarch is conceived of as a priest-king. In the present paper it is argued that the notion of a vestigial priest king is logically flawed; alternatively, that a vestigial priest king is at least a highly unlikely phenomenon. The exposure of the flaw requires a distinction to be made between what may be called a 'simple monarchy' and its apotheosis, a monarchy that may be called a 'narrative, or priest-king, monarchy.' Demonstration of a logical flaw in the idea of a fissionable narrative monarchy reinforces the increasing, if not now full, acceptance that the primordial post-Mycenaean ancient Greek monarchies if they existed at all were not narrative monarchies, but that they were simple monarchies. The implication, namely that the king archon (and perhaps the polemarch) have become inexplicable, has not yet been fully realized in modern scholarship.

Athina Papachrysostomou (University of Patras) *[Monday, Session 2a]*
Evil beauty: Comedy's Reportage on Hetairai
During the periods of Middle and New Comedy the figure of the hetaira emerges as a stereotype character; this is not peculiar since the stereotype characters constitute a defining attribute of Comedy in the fourth and third centuries BC. What is peculiar and striking is that the comic playwrights exhibit an increasing interest in specifically the depiction of this character's vices and wicked behaviour.

Indeed, whilst (supposedly) embodying the ultimate female beauty, the hetairai are anything but recommended within the extant comic material. Apart from a very limited number of cases, where hetairai are being praised, the comic playwrights of the fourth and third centuries BC (and even their Latin successors) engage in vehement attacks and deliver denigrating invectives against the hetairai.

Based on an exhaustive research of the surviving comic texts, this paper aims to present and categorise the numerous vices attributed to hetairai by Comedy. To mention but a few examples, hetairai are accused of using artificial means and tricks to make themselves look pretty, of shamelessness and immorality, of perjury and fraudulence, of garrulity, of using magic potions and aphrodisiacs, etc.; they are even pictured as dangerous traps of life (παγίδες τοῦ βίου) and monstrous creatures (a hetaira is even called ἀνδροφόνος).

Apart from the obvious explanation that 'this is Comedy and this is what Comedy does, i.e., it ridicules people,' a deeper interpretation needs to be sought. I would suggest that the period of Middle (and New) Comedy – not echoing any more the political fights (as Old Comedy did) and not having yet developed the nostalgia for classical Athens (as the Second Sophistic will) – mirrors its contemporary social milieu, without any attempts to glamourise it, and records the actual social anxieties of the era.

John Penwill (La Trobe University) *[Tuesday, Session 5a]*
Senses of Endings: Those 'Unfinished' Flavian Epics
Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and Statius' *Achilleid* have all the appearance of being unfinished; both end abruptly in the middle of a book that is significantly shorter than the other(s), our knowledge of the story behind each of these narratives shows that much more remains to be told, and indeed in ending where they do both fail to fulfil the programmatic commitments of their respective authors. The same could be said (and is said) about Lucan's *Bellum Civile*; but as Jamie Masters has shown there is a strong case for regarding the ending of that poem as the one the author chose for it. We should always bear in mind that the Flavian epicists are not only

'the epic successors of Virgil' but also the epic successors of Lucan. Valerius commences his poem in a Lucanesque way by appealing to a deified emperor to inspire his song; in a major departure from Apollonian precedent he has Jason and the Argonauts involved in a Lucanesque civil war between Aeetes and his half-brother Perses; that he should give his poem a Lucanesque ending, leaving his protagonist as Lucan does in a position from which there seems no way out, may perhaps be less surprising. In the case of the *Achilleid* the poem ends with the completion of Achilles' reminiscences about his childhood, so neatly filling the gap left by commencing with Thetis' manoeuvring to secrete her son on Scyros. Achilles is now the prisoner of his destiny and that is where the poet leaves him. Here the Lucanesquely abrupt ending adds to the sense, arguable on other grounds, that there is a political subtext to this poem.

Simon Perris (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Thursday, Session 10a]*
What Maketh the Messenger? Reportage in Greek tragedy
This paper proposes a formal definition of report-narratives in Greek tragedy. So-called 'messenger-speeches' have long been considered a central, even defining, element of the genre. They have received much critical attention, both as a corpus themselves and in the context of other studies of tragedy. However, definitions of 'the messenger' and 'the messenger-speech' have not hitherto been made sufficiently rigorous for the demands placed upon them, and there is no *communis opinio* as to how, or why, we should construct such a definition. This paper aims to address that *desideratum*.

In *Le scene d'annunzio nella tragedia greca* (Milan, 1967), Di Gregorio links the supposed evolution of tragic narrative with a theory of the origin of tragedy, thereby subordinating formal analysis to literary history. De Jong comes closer to a formal definition in *Narrative in Drama: The Art of the Euripidean Messenger-Speech* (Leiden, 1991), applying three criteria: (1) anonymous speaker, (2) introductory dialogue, and (3) narrative content. Nevertheless, even this model is ultimately unsatisfactory in practice, particularly when it comes to Aiskhylos and Sophokles. More recently, Dickin's *A Vehicle for Performance: Acting the Messenger in Greek Tragedy* (Lanham, MD, 2009: 7) attempts a formal definition but risks circularity by defining the function of the speaker rather than the speech act itself.

The origin of tragedy aside, reportage is itself intimately woven into the fabric of tragedy: the formal make-up of Greek tragedy renders it absolutely necessary for speaking characters, whether anonymous or named, aristocratic or low-born, to report offstage events to others onstage. As a result, a simple, precise, formal definition of the 'report-narrative' is both possible and necessary, and should enable a more nuanced reading of such apparent anomalies as the Phrygian's monody in *Orestes*, the *Redepaare* in *Seven Against Thebes*, or Hyllos' 'messenger-speech' in *Trakhiniai*.

In this paper, then, I define the 'report-narrative' as a narrative delivered by an onstage narrator to an onstage addressee, the purpose of which is to describe events in the past of which the addressee is unaware. Within the confines of this model, any number of extrinsic characteristics might then be examined for the sake of comparison: content, metre, language, stagecraft, dramaturgical context, identity of speaker, and so on. For example, tragic report-narratives might be spoken or sung, continuous or interrupted, 'good news' or 'bad news,' and so on. I will thus conclude by applying my working definition to a selection of test-cases.

Ultimately, it is to be hoped that the descriptive model proposed and demonstrated herein will facilitate further investigation and better understanding of one of the cornerstones of the tragic art.

Justin Pigott (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 4e]*
East to West: John Cassian as Conduit and Filter
The constant environment of conflict and controversy in late-antique Christendom engendered in ecclesiasts a militant mentality. Always ready to defend their work and attack detractors, theologians and preachers were trained by experience and example constantly to critique and examine possible weak spots in their theological armour. Like an army under constant threat of spontaneous assault they were neither complacent nor blasé in their work. However, this state of preparedness not only resulted in the sharpening of doctrinal bayonets but it also better equipped ecclesiasts such as John Cassian to successfully bring together opposing traditions. The ecclesiastical diplomat aware of the hot-spots and nuances of Christian practice and could deftly pick a path between the land-mines of theological, political and cultural conflict.

This paper will look at how Christian practices were transmitted between different cultural landscapes by examining Cassian's attempt at bringing eastern-style asceticism to Gaul. Cassian interwove the spiritual threads of eastern and western spirituality at the time when they were pulling apart. His monastic schema provides us with a unique perspective on how Christian practices were transmitted between different cultural landscapes in a late antique environment rife with theological turmoil. In Cassian's *Conferences* we are able to discern how various practical and theological concerns coalesced and competed.

In Gaul Cassian had to balance the need for broad appeal and greater rewards of ascetic practice with theologically contentious ideas and clerical tensions. While criticising the elite's adoption of asceticism in order to obtain a superficial authority he more than made up any loss in appeal by transferring the eastern tradition of

the rewards of ascetic practice. However, the Origenist Controversy and the suspicion surrounding the work of Evagrius meant that such rewards had to be subtly manipulated to avoid threatening the legitimacy of his message. This was achieved in part by Cassian developing a view of asceticism that seemingly acquiesced to western thinking by playing down the potential rewards of the ascetic in this life while at the same time quietly playing down the divide between this life and the next and allowing the ascetic a continuity of existence between them.

Emily Poelina-Hunter (University of Melbourne) *[Tuesday, Session 6d]*
Collecting Antiquities: Cycladic Figurines in British Museum Collections, 1840-1940
Cycladic figurines have been collected since the Grand Tour by privileged art lovers, and have become the enigmatic symbol of Early Bronze Age art from the Cycladic islands. This presentation will trace their beginnings as curious relics, to influential sculptures in Britain's most famous museums. It will provide an overview of the collection of Cycladic figurines from the earliest published mentions of the sculptures, and trace the excavation, acquisition and interpretations of the sculptures in a chronological history, concluding in 1940, when Greece was drawn into World War II.

By focusing on the relationship between the archaeological work of the British School at Athens, Greek archaeological protection laws, and the acquisition records of the British Museum, Ashmolean Museum and Fitzwilliam Museum, one can gain valuable insight into the early history of the collecting of prehistoric antiquities and the ramifications of their exhibition from 1840-1940.

Acquisition records for the majority of Cycladic figurines are vague or just plain incorrect – not just in the first hundred years or so, and especially in regards to their provenience. But by concentrating on the period between 1840 and 1940, I am able to highlight that these records are a result of just how unregulated archaeology was at the time, and how the ideas of British archaeologists shaped the way museums educated the public about Cycladic figurines and how it was a British artist who challenged their ideas.

The exhibition of Cycladic figurines in prehistoric collections in British museums exposed them to the public and directly influenced artists in the 1920s. Thanks to the English sculptor Henry Moore, Cycladic figurines enjoyed their first boom in popularity outside of what had been a primarily archaeological context. They were regarded as works of art and not merely curious artefacts. This change in attitude extended to art historical and archaeological fields, and Cycladic figurines began to warrant systematic, scientific archaeological analysis to inform a wider audience.

In the 1950s Cycladic figurines enjoyed their second wave of popularity, which unfortunately resulted in the production of forgeries and a huge surge of illicit looting of Early Bronze Age sites to satisfy the art market. Therefore, this presentation focuses on the Cycladic figurines exhibited in museum collections between 1840 and 1940, because though their provenances are not perfect, they provide the most reliable corpus of authentic pieces for the study of Cycladic figurines.

Arthur Pomeroy (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Wednesday, Session 8b]*
Tacitus for Senators
Stephen Oakley concludes his chapter 'Emperors, senators, and liberty' in the *Cambridge Companion to Tacitus* with the query: 'Does the imperial senate deserve the prominence that Tacitus gives to it?' His answer is clearly in the negative ('Perhaps Tacitus' usual perceptiveness did desert him when he devoted so much space to an institution in terminal decline'). On the contrary, it is my purpose to show that Tacitus' writings are best read not as the history of the emperors, but as a record of senatorial responses to their *principes*.

Given the duty of history to be educative as well as entertaining, an imperial audience was infinitesimally small and unlikely to take the advice of someone of lesser rank. The senatorial class was much more interested in precedents (especially among newcomers to the Senate, such as Tacitus himself and his friend Pliny) and in preservation of the reputation of their families. In this paper, I will consider selected passages in Tacitus' writings (e.g. *Agr.* 1.3.1; *Ann.* 3.55; 16.16) which indicate that senatorial reaction to the emperors was an important as imperial power in the historian's evaluation of events in Roman history.

Jessica Priestley (University of Bristol) *[Monday, Session 3c]*
An Unexamined Life: Biographical Traditions about Herodotus
The ancient traditions about Herodotus' life have not yet been approached as sources with the potential to yield information about the reception of the *Histories*. For Homer, Barbara Graziosi has highlighted how different biographical traditions '… explore the tension between Homer's status as the Panhellenic author par excellence, and his relationship to specific audiences …' (B. Graziosi, 2002. *Inventing Homer: the early reception of epic*. Cambridge: 11). The biographical traditions about Herodotus offer important parallels which deserve consideration. Around the Greek world multiple claims were made connecting Herodotus with different cities and regions. In this paper these claims will be examined and it will be argued that some are contradictory, and that some are historically improbable. The biography of Herodotus was contested and there are strong reasons to

think that several of the different traditions about the historian reflect different reception contexts. The biographical details of Herodotus' life were important to communities, because (it was thought) these details could explain the way a region was portrayed in the *Histories*, and because establishing positive ties with the famed historian was a means of conferring honour on a community and stoking local pride in its past. It will be suggested that the changed historical circumstances in the Hellenistic period (when it seems most likely that the extant traditions about Herodotus' life were first recorded) help to explain why particular traditions were perpetuated, and possibly arose or were 'invented.'

Alessandra Pugliese (University of Otago) *[Wednesday, Session 9b]*
From Monarchy to Republic: the End of the Macedonian Kingdom
The portrait of Perseus, last king of Macedonia, has been transfigured by the literary tradition which presents the Antigonid as a paradigm of vices that range from avarice to dishonesty and cowardice. A closer look at the historiographic data on the Third Macedonian War, duly supported by an analysis of epigraphic evidence, reveals that such image was the result of a well plotted propaganda campaign against the king and contrasted ideally with his Roman antagonist, the consul Aemilius Paulus, presented instead as *vir* par excellence. This article examines, therefore, the events that between 172 and 167 B.C. led to the war and to the new Macedonian settlement, in order to highlight how historiographic and epigraphic (*Syll³*. 643) sources provide a biased judgment about the last Antigonid king, his attitude, and his responsibility for the war. To this purpose I analyse and discuss both the Roman diplomatic strategy which, aiming to isolate the enemy from his alliances, marked the *prodromes* of the war and the Roman propaganda in Greece which, abusing the Hellenic αὐτονομία καὶ ἐλευθερία formula, intended to justify the suppression of the Antigonid monarchy. Reasons for this train of events, which represent not only excessive foreign interference, but also a turning point in Roman expansionistic policy, are here discussed. Finally, this study considers the Macedonian settlement of 167 B.C. in order to evaluate to what extent Romans brought actual innovations to the new republican State.

Janet Quartermaine (Australian National University) *[Thursday, Session 10c]*
Medici
Texts from Rome and elsewhere in the empire, civilian, military and legal, reflect medical knowledge and practice, in cities and towns at least, based on empirical observation, separate from folklore, religion and superstition. Surgical assemblages, and the evidence of epigraphy and iconography extend the view at a more personal level.

This paper offers a survey of what medical services might have been available to the inhabitants of regional towns across north western Italy in the first two centuries of the Imperial era.

John Ratcliffe (University of Queensland) *[Thursday, Session 10c]*
Cornelius Celsus and the Treatment of *Fistula-in-Ano*; a Surprise and a Conundrum
Roman writers record some of the diseases and disabilities of many of the great and powerful people in Antiquity. A few examples are Galba, Claudius, Augustus, Julius Caesar and Marius. However, no mention has been found in the classical literature of a person suffering from the not uncommon, painful and embarrassing condition of *fistula-in-ano* although surgery for this condition is well attested in both Hippocrates and Celsus. A Hippocratic author devoted a whole book, Περὶ Συρίγγων, to *fistula-in-ano*; Cornelius Celsus later, in the first century CE, described the surgery for this condition clearly in *de Medicina*. The surgical techniques described by both authors are not grossly dissimilar and are of great interest to the historian of medical procedures in Antiquity because the surgical techniques have changed little in 2000 years.

One technique is to cut down directly on the fistula within the anal canal and another is indirect using a linen thread. The thread is passed along the fistula into the rectum and brought out onto the surface where the two ends of the thread are tied to form a loop. Over a period of a few weeks the loop of thread cuts slowly and often painlessly through the flesh into the ano-rectal canal and the fistula is thus healed.

The modern justification for the use of the significantly more complicated and prolonged tied thread procedure is that the function of the anal sphincter is more assuredly preserved. Damage to the sphincter may result in embarrassing incontinence of flatus and faeces. This complication is not identified in either the Hippocratic text, or by Celsus; nor is an anatomical sphincter mentioned. However, the documented description of this tied thread technique, which can have no other purpose than to ensure post-operative continence, indicates that the surgeons in antiquity recognised an important function in the perianal tissues which required this special technique for the treatment of some *fistulae-in-ano* which was not required, and not relevant, in fistulae in other sites.

First it will be necessary to tell this audience, using Power-point diagrams, what is a fistula-in-ano and why it is embarrassing to suffer from one. Celsus' description of its treatment using the loop of thread will then be presented, using Spencer's translation, but the Latin text will be available in a hand-out. A modern description of an almost identical method of treatment will then be given.

The interesting points for discussion are firstly, that almost no modern surgeon, and few Classical scholars, will be aware of the long history of this procedure; secondly, if the detailed functional anatomy of the anal canal was unknown by the Graeco-Roman surgeons, what could have given rise to the unlikely idea that a loop of string might be therapeutic in this condition for them to have initiated this?

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Ron Ridley (University of Melbourne) *[Wednesday, Session 8b]*
Honouring the Heroes: Livy's Obituaries
The Livian *nomenklatura* is, thankfully, having a momentary break, since this is a subject they have never heard of. In the course of two and a half centuries of monarchy and half a millennium of Republic, whom did Livy single out for post-mortem mention: eulogy or otherwise? Were there any likely candidates whom he neglected? And what might we learn from all this about his own set of values? [This paper continues the series on Livy from past ASCS conferences.]

Anne Rogerson (University of Sydney) *[Tuesday, Session 4a]*
Flaming Filaments! Heads on Fire in Virgil's *Aeneid*
As Troy burns in *Aeneid* 2 and the elderly Trojan hero Anchises seems determined to die in the inferno, his son Aeneas gives up on attempts to persuade his father to escape and prepares to rush out, sword-swinging, to certain death at the hands of the victorious Greeks. His act of self-sacrifice is foiled when his wife Creusa entreats him to stay, holding out their young son Ascanius as a demonstration of the obligations that stand in the way of his desperate plan. In this highly charged moment, Ascanius' head is suddenly surrounded with ominous flames (*Aen.* 2.679-84). His parents are highly alarmed, as the account of the event that Aeneas gives to Dido in Carthage stresses (*nos pavidi trepidare metu*, *Aen.* 2.685), and not without reason: the fires that swathe the young Trojan have a menacing reflection in the deadly flames that are destroying Troy as the scene takes place. Anchises, however, reacts in a surprisingly different fashion, interpreting the miraculously harmless flames as a sign not only of the gods' continued protection of the family, but also that it is both right to leave and legitimate to survive beyond Troy's fall (*Aen.* 2.687-704).

At least since the fourth century, when Servius wrote his commentary on the *Aeneid*, scholars have stressed the non-alarming aspects of this extraordinary event, underlining just how wrong Aeneas and Creusa were to fear fires described (in hindsight) with reassuring adjectives such as *levis*, *innoxia* and *mollis*, and stressing the comfortingly Roman *pietas* displayed by Anchises in his very different response to the flames licking around his young grandson's head. In doing so, they condition their readers to expect, and accept, both Anchises' revelation of the glorious future portended by the flames and the *defensio fugae* that is its corollary (Servius *ad Aen.* 2.688).

This paper argues, in contrast, that the head-burning scene is not as cosy as many have wanted it to be. Closer reading of Aeneas' narrative and of Anchises' slow and rather obscure revelation of his interpretation of the omen casts some doubt on the purely positive nature of the omen. Evocations of parallel passages both in the *Aeneid* itself (most notably, the passage where the princess Lavinia's head is similarly engulfed by crackling flames in *Aeneid* 7.71-77) and in other texts (such as Livy's account of the flames that appeared around the head of the young Servius Tullius) are similarly equivocal. Rather than demonstrate the inexorable glory of Trojan destiny, the flames that engulf the head of Aeneas' son in Book 2 illustrate the complexities both of the *Aeneid*'s vision of the future and of Virgil's representation of his youngest hero, Ascanius. Often seen as an uncomplicated symbol of the future greatness of Rome, and in particular of the gens Iulia, Ascanius is instead a figure of hope, fear, success and failure, inextricably intertwined.

David Rosenbloom (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Thursday, Session 10b]*
From Vulture to Eagle: Athenian Imperialism and the Spell of Athenian Culture
Two major trends have emerged in recent work on the Athenian empire. First, the re-dating of inscriptions has relocated documentary evidence for the empire to the 420s. The question that has exercised historians, 'when did Athenian hegemony become an empire?' has become unsettled. Evidence used to document the transformation from hegemony to empire, such as the decree on weights, measures, and coinage (IG 13 1453), which Meiggs and Lewis dated to 450-446, is now dated as late as 414/3 (Kallet 2001: 205-26). Did the Athenian empire form later than most historians believe? (Mattingly 1996: 367-68; cf. Rhodes 2008). Second, historians have insisted that ethnic difference between ruler and ruled and quantitative thresholds of revenue and power are essential to the definition empire. Ian Morris, for instance, denies that Athens maintained an empire because it failed to meet these criteria (Morris 2009: 132, 136).

This paper defines the meaning of 'empire' in the context of the fifth-century Aegean to argue that such ethnic and quantitative thresholds are unwarranted. It then evaluates inscriptions as evidence: historians treat them as statements of fact containing the 'smoking gun' of empire. In fact, however, they are ideologically laden speech acts and their dating is less crucial to the history of empire than is assumed. Next, this paper assails the view that the Athenian empire developed from a hegemony as merely recapitulating the ideology of Athenian imperialism. Instead, it argues that Athens began as what Thomas Barfield terms a 'vulture empire' (Barfield 2001: 36-38), a centralized organization on the periphery of the Persian empire that formed when the imperial center could no longer hold the periphery; it exploited this periphery to push its domination further toward the imperial center before seeking other directions of expansion after failures in the 450s. Securing a periphery it could no longer expand, Athens sought avenues of expansion in mainland Greece and Magna Graecia to form a Mediterranean-wide empire and to become an 'eagle in the clouds' as promised in a popular prophecy (Ar. *Eq.* 1011-13 with Σ, 1086-87; cf. *Av.* 1337). This paper concludes with a discussion of the most successful and least studied element of Athenian imperialism: 'its culture,' dramas, funeral orations, narratives, festivals and rituals; the spell of this culture has deeply influenced the historiography of the empire.

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Gina Salapata (Massey University) *[Monday, Session 2d]*
The More the Better? Votive Offerings in Sets
Ordinary, inexpensive and often mass-produced offerings are found in abundance in votive deposits throughout the Greek world. They have the potential not only to illuminate the type of cult and the nature and character of the recipients, but also to help us ascertain popular tastes and cult practices of the average worshipper.

The main intention of this paper is to raise the issue of small offerings acquired and dedicated in sets, and presumably also displayed together. In some cases, sanctuary deposits exhibiting similarities in the profile of type of offerings may indicate that objects were dedicated in sets of two or more items during a single visit to the sanctuary. Sets of offerings would have expressed complementary notions about the cult and the recipient, and could have increased the efficacy of the gift-giving ritual. In other cases, generic offerings that were appropriate for several cults could have been dedicated and displayed together in a sanctuary in order to produce more specific images.

Enrica Sciarrino (University of Canterbury) *[Monday, Session 2a]*
Metatheatre Reconsidered
By drawing on the theatrical experiments of the first half of the twentieth century, in the early 70s Marino Barchiesi (1970) applied the notion of metatheatre to Plautus for the first time and suggested that this had to do with a poetic reflection on the compositional process. In the mid-eighties Niall Slater (1985; 2000) proposed that it was a technique that by breaking the dramatic illusion served to reveal the constructedness of both the characters and the play. In a recent contribution, William Batstone (2005) has argued that Slater's interpretation of metatheatre as an exclusively theatrical matter transvalues Plautine comedy and divorces it from the life of the audience. By going back to Lionel Abel's understanding of metatheatre as arising from the perception that 'all the world's a stage,' Batstone stresses that the Roman view of life was already a view of life theatricalized. By taking Batstone's remarks as a cue, I consider the forms of actions that the break of the dramatic illusion permitted. On that basis, I argue that metatheatre helped generate a 'contact zone' between the world created on stage and that of the spectators where multiple perceptions of reality were both mediated and empowered.

Kenneth Sheedy (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 7d]*
The Trouble with Minting Bronze in Athens
The Athenians loathed the idea of bronze coinage. During the 5th century BC they refused to embrace the enthusiasm of other cities for 'cheap coins.' This paper, which incorporates new evidence from metal analyses, reviews the evidence for the earliest Athenian bronzes. It offers a new evaluation of the bronze coins minted by the Athenian general Timotheus during his campaign to capture Amphipolis in the 360s.

Kalina Slaska-Sapala (Australian National University) *[Tuesday, Session 5d]*
Paradise Lost **and the Language of Epic Rebellion**
The portrayal of Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*, epitomized in his famous statement in Book 1, 'Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven' (*PL*.1.263) has sparked an ongoing theological as well as a literary debate about the nature of epic transgression in the context of Milton's theodicy. By allowing his Satan to express a defiance of God in words recalling Achilleus' proclamation in the underworld at *Odyssey* xi 488-91, Milton demonstrates a curious link between the language and themes of Homer and his own epic re-imagining of Judaeo-Christian aetiology. Far from being a mere decorative addition and demonstration of the poet's erudition, Milton's classical references within his narration of the 'fall predating the Fall' serve a vital thematic purpose in the act of creating a poem that will 'justify the ways of God to men' (*PL*.1.26). This paper will seek to explore some of the burning questions about Paradise Lost in light of Milton's epic and ancient critical sources. I will argue that in light of ancient, modern, and the most recent scholarship on epic morality, the language of Satan's rebellion and its classical precedents is more evocative than ever.

Constance Sleeth (University of Otago) *[Monday, Session 1a]*
One Ghost, Two Burials, Three Acts of Impiety: Reading Religion from the Ground Up in Euripides' *Hecuba*
Euripides' *Hecuba* has in the past been criticized for its treatment of the gods (either for their absence or their unjust nature), and as a play which lacks unity. This paper endeavours to question the basis of both these criticisms through a reading which places emphasis on the religious framework of the play, and seeks a more positive understanding of its divine elements. Hecuba opens with the shade of Polydorus hovering over a prostate Hecuba: both have been betrayed by Polymestor, king of the Thracian Chersonese, where the Greek fleet remains moored. Polydorus' monologue introduces the themes of the play: burial rights, oaths, bonds of *philia* and *xenia* (all of which have been broken, forsaken or perverted) and it is these that I have taken as the topic of the present discussion. There is a series of irreligious acts throughout the play and these impieties provide one of the unifying themes of the tragedy. Furthermore, because Polydorus belongs to the realm of the Underworld, and it is from there that the audience receives their knowledge, this paper will be looking to the chthonic deities who reside there to obtain a sense of the divine framework, rather than to the Olympians. References to Hades and Persephone are prevalent throughout the drama, and it is through their intervention that Polydorus can appear at all. It will be argued that the intervention of Hades supports the divine order of Zeus and that when justice is not fulfilled by Zeus it will be inevitably be fulfilled by Hades and Persephone.

Christopher Smith (British School at Rome) *[Monday, Session 2b]*
Tribunes of the Plebs in the 5th century BC
This paper will examine the evidence for the foundation of the tribunate of the plebs, the conflicting sources, and the original purposes of the tribunate within the context of the early Republic. The paper will investigate what we may derive from this account about the early plebs on the one hand, and about the nature of the Roman historical account on the other.

Lucy Smith (University of Sydney) *[Monday, Session 2c]*
From Achilles to Socrates: Homer and Philosophical Courage in Plato's *Protagoras*
Socrates' encounter with the famous sophist Protagoras is littered with allusions to Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, which have been left largely unexamined. Of particular interest in a dialogue that focuses significantly on the virtue of courage, is Socrates' identification of himself with the paradigmatically enduring Odysseus, and Protagoras with the brave and daring Achilles. I suggest that Socrates situates his discussion of courage within these two Homeric traditions of courage, the dominant tradition of bravery, and the secondary tradition of endurance, in order to partially-transcend them in his rhetorical articulation of his novel conception of courage as philosophical courage. I hope to show that by opening the dialogue with three allusions to the *Odyssey*, in which Socrates casts the sophists as shadows of the dead in the Underworld, and likens Protagorean method to the bewitching spells of Circe, Socrates attempts to undermine both the sophists and their methods as neither requiring philosophical courage on the part of the sophists, nor promoting it in the minds of their students. Finally, by way of two allusions to the *Iliad* later in the dialogue, Socrates seeks to replace sophistic method with Socratic dialectic, the way in which, for Socrates, the truth is to be pursued and achieved. The virtue essential to Socratic dialectic is philosophical courage: the courage to say what one really thinks, to expose one's ignorance and vulnerability to the light of Socratic questioning, and the courage to forge past this ignorance into the daunting unknown.

Anthony Spalinger (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 9c]*
Messages and Warfare. A Preliminary Analysis of the Topoi in the Coptic *Cambyses Romance* **and the** *Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*

Both of these late accounts present interesting and welcome details concerning the routes of travel and conquest from the Sinai into Egypt. Special attention will be placed upon their historical sources (Jeremiah, Herodotus, etc.) and the demotic and Greek data concerning the fortress system from the Egyptian border via the Sinai. There are considerable problems with both manuscripts. The Coptic one clearly combines Cambyses with the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar and has quite a number of textual oddities including persona and place names. The *Chronicle of John* had been first translated form Greek and Coptic (?) into Arabic and then was retranslated into Ethiopic in 1602. Hence, the possible errors of textual transmission are acute. Recent studies on both have considerable improved our understanding of the basic events, especially as John has used one major historical source which the Coptic story did likewise. Indeed, both reflect the common native Egyptian hostility to foreign invaders and both show distinct literary topoi common to Egypt in earlier times.

Joan Stivala (Australian National University) *[Tuesday, Session 6c]*
Seneca on Suicide
 'Suicide' is a loaded word that that is often associated with moral disapproval or the presumption of mental disturbance. Seneca the Younger's discussions on the subject of suicide have led to accusations that he was obsessed with death and dying. The course of his life, however, and especially its ending, provide firm evidence against this conclusion. He had to be ordered to die. The hint that his death was expected was insufficient to cause him to kill himself. Seneca's own stated thoughts on suicide also fail to provide evidence for such a diagnosis. Death is part of life. It is its final act. It therefore seems not unreasonable that Seneca, who was interested in the practical ethics that made for a morally good life, should also be concerned with what contributed to a good end to that life. He maintained, for example, that no general prescription can be made for deciding the proper time for any individual to die. Each case must be judged on its merits.

Seneca did not introduce the topic of suicide into Stoicism; he elaborated on earlier Stoic positions on the topic. It is no surprise to find that Seneca, as a Stoic, believed that the motive for killing oneself must be of prime importance. The Stoa believed that the σοφός would take his own life under certain circumstances. These circumstances included giving up his life for his country or his friends, or because he was suffering from intolerable pain, mutilation, or incurable disease. Seneca, on the other hand, advocated the prolonging of one's life, in the face of pain or terminal illness, if continued existence is necessary to help a friend. According to Seneca, the choice is not between dying earlier or later but of dying well or badly. To die well means freedom from the risk of living badly.

Judy Stove (University of New South Wales) *[Tuesday, Session 4c]*
 'Gut-madness': *Gastrimargia* **in Plato and beyond**
In recent times, health authorities in Western nations have focussed on obesity and its causes. It is pertinent to examine some of the attitudes of earlier societies to these phenomena. My topic is *gastrimargia*: the bad habit which, in Greek, means 'gut-madness,' and which came to be translated as *gula* in Latin and 'gluttony' in English.

The extent to which early and medieval Christian writers were to emphasise sin (an essentially theological concept) should not obscure the fact that pagan philosophers had also dealt with habits or actions which were later to feature as Christian sins. Two key dialogues of Plato's feature overeating as a particularly bad habit. In the *Phaedo*, overeating is considered, by Socrates, so bad as to be likely to condemn a person's soul to reincarnation within a donkey or similarly shameful animal. In the *Timaeus*, Plato touches on the behaviour of overeating, ingeniously fitting this into his creation account of the human body.

This paper will argue that, in both dialogues, overeating occupies an important role largely because of Plato's dualist metaphysics. The fact that one cannot continue to live without eating means that it is the single activity most closely associated with the body (by contrast, one can, for example, live without sex or alcohol). The theory and imagery of the *Phaedo* repeatedly emphasise, in various ways, the difference of the soul from the body, the superior or more real nature of the soul, and the anchor points between the two. The *Timaeus* account, while specifically concerned with the body, again emphasises the superior kind of existence which is precluded by systematic overeating.

Christian theorists were to adopt Plato's terminology for the Christian sin of gluttony, pointing up the extent of their debt to the relevant Platonist attitudes. This paper will address some of the conceptual and ethical issues associated with attitudes to eating, overeating, and their outcomes, in Plato and his successors.

Frank Strk (University of Tasmania) *[Thursday, Session 10d]*
Dating the Third Mithridatic War – a New Approach
The problem of dating the beginning of the Third Mithridatic War has occupied some of the greatest minds in classical historiography since the nineteenth century.

It has long been assumed that the problems with the Roman civic calendar, mostly remedied by Julius Caesar's reforms of 46 BC and implemented in the following year, were a direct and isolated consequence of the

preceding twenty years of civil disarray. This paper argues that the issues with the Roman method of intercalation and calendar management were long term and endemic and that these factors should play a significant role in our interpretation of Roman Republican history prior to the calendar's correction. An astronomical simulation will be used to demonstrate the time disparities between dates associated with astronomical events as recorded by our ancient sources and the actual timing of those astronomical phenomena.

In particular, this paper focuses on the Third Mithridatic War and the controversy surrounding the apparent lack of time for the preliminary events in 75/4 BC to have taken place as related by our primary sources. This has led some scholars to question the accuracy and integrity of these sources. It concludes that these apparent chronological disparities can be satisfactorily explained by anomalies inherent within the Roman civic calendar – leaving our sources comparatively unscathed. This is an original and new solution to an old problem.

Pippa Ström (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Tuesday, Session 5d]*
The Erysichthon Diet : Re-Consuming Ovid
The Erysichthon of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* chops down a sacred tree. The goddess Ceres punishes him for this impious and destructive act, with insatiable hunger. It is to the final action resulting from this punishment – and the most famous aspect of the story – that we will be paying particular attention. After he has exhausted his fortune and sold his daughter, Erysichthon proceeds to eat himself. We will explore potential answers to the question: what draws us to this moment repeatedly? By examining at a selection of modern versions of the Erysichthon story (from the predominantly Western cultures where it is found), we can see how the myth displays some of the ancient attitudes towards consumption that have remained in the world (some scholars consider the Greeks to be proto-environmentalists!), as well as being a useful 'meal plan' into which fresh thought ingredients are being thrown.

Our principal modern source will be James Lasdun's poem, 'Erisychthon,' which is set in America, the current global capital of the commercial diet industry. Ostensibly practised with the goal of losing weight or changing the body, dieting is often charged with the responsibility of bringing about much greater changes: personal happiness, environmental improvement, and even world peace (examples will be given). The Greek myth still provides the thought-tools for many modern ways of conceiving of consumption. Particularly pertinent is self-consumption: through ill-health, environmental destruction, and potentially world-destroying conflict scenarios.

Even non-metaphorically, *autophagia* lingers in our societies, inspiring, for example, the artistic portrait *Dans ma Peau*, directed by and starring Marina de Van, an outwardly successful woman struggling to relate to her Parisian cityscape. This further proves the relevance of our themes. Other, more direct references to the myth from modern sources will reveal that we have not been alone in history with what we may think of as our 'new' obsessions with what to put into or remove from our bodies, and how to ensure our survival through that of our environment. Erysichthon failed, but through our re-telling of his story, we are showing an interest in not repeating his story. In the course of our journey, we will fulfil Ovid's wish that his *Metamorphoses* be appreciated in future contexts, as well as validate a few of the preoccupations of the ancient world.

Ikko Tanaka (Kyoto University) *[Monday, Session 2c]*
Rethinking of the Concept of *Mimesis* in Plato's *Republic*
In the Republic, Plato uses the word *mimesis* and its cognates in various contexts. This has led to some scholars thinking that Plato uses the word *mimesis* to mean various things arbitrarily. In fact, in book 10, Socrates defines *mimesis* in general (*holos* (595c8)) as 'apparition (*eidolon*) / appearance (*phantasma*)-making.' This understanding of *mimesis* cannot, however, immediately explain other usages, especially *mimesis* as 'impersonation/enactment' in book 3. Recent studies stress that *mimesis* has been used in a narrower sense in book 3 and in a broader sense in book 10 wherein its concept includes poetry, painting, and other representational arts. If the concept of *mimesis* in book 10 subsumes stage performances through impersonation (cf. 603c6, 605c10), *mimesis* as impersonation/enactment can be considered to be a kind of apparition-making as long as we seriously view *mimesis* in general as based on the understanding of painting, i.e. the understanding that a painter copies and makes an apparition of what he sees as a model. Taking this serious position, I argue how the activity of impersonation/enactment can be construed as somewhat of an apparition-making activity.

My approach is to analyze the structures of impersonation and apparition-making. Impersonation can be described as a dualistic relation between the impersonator and the model he impersonates, and the resemblance between them. On the other hand, apparition-making is described as a triadic relation among the apparition-maker (*mimetes*), the model, and its apparition (*mimema*). In this case, it is not the apparition-maker, but the apparition he makes that resembles its model. Though both cases seem to have essentially different structures, the former structure is, in my opinion, reduced to the latter.

Compared to the simple narrative, *mimesis* as impersonation/enactment is introduced (392d). When a poet impersonates someone else, he conceals himself, i.e., his own way of speech and behaviour (393c10-d1). This concealment seems to imply that the poet clearly distinguishes himself from the character he realizes on the

stage during impersonation. If so, the poet can be considered to be both an impersonator and the character which comes into being through impersonation. Therefore, the activity of impersonation is described as a triadic relation among the impersonator (*mimetes*), the model, and the character on the very same stage (*mimema*). If this analysis is correct, the resemblance is between the latter two.

The character can be regarded as a kind of apparition even without the background of Platonic thoughts. In its archaic usage, the word 'apparition' indicates what fluctuates between 'in presence' and 'in absence' (Vernant, 1991). During impersonation, the character is in presence in the sense that it is actually on the stage, but in absence in the sense that the original model does not appear (cf. Eur. *Hel*. 74, 875).

From what has been discussed above, I will show that *mimesis* as apparition-making includes *mimesis* as impersonation/enactment. Furthermore, I will propose the core meaning of *mimesis* on which Plato's argument about poetry depends.

Harold Tarrant (University of Newcastle) *[Tuesday, Session 5c]*
A Six-book Version of Plato's *Republic*: Same Text Divided Differently, or Early Version?
This paper argues that the six-book *Republic* known to the compiler of the *Antatticista* is not, as hitherto conveniently assumed, our *Republic* arranged in fewer books, but a sub-final version lacking certain parts, most obviously VIII and most of IX, and possessing interesting variations. The argument rests on what would otherwise be a very high error-rate (38%) compared with the more reliable citations of other Platonic works, and with the citations of Herodotus and Thucydides. It demonstrates that VIII and most of IX belong stylistically to the opposite extreme from I, and may therefore be the last composed. It argues that the Platonic collection used by the *Antatticista* antedates hiatus-avoiding dialogues, and belongs to a location other than Athens or Alexandria, and probably in Sicily or Italy. The first three books had a high level of correlation with a dialogue of definition on justice (= I) and an outline of the Socratic state (= II-III) often thought to be antecedents of our dialogue.

Tristan Taylor (University of New England) *[Wednesday, Session 8d]*
Lost in Transmission: Themes in Third Century Coinage
Mattingly and Sydenham famously stated that the great variation to be found on the reverses of Roman coins meant that they 'were, in short, the newspapers of the day' (Mattingly and Sydenham 1921, 22). A.H.M. Jones, equally famously, opined a rather more conservative view about what information might be gleaned from coin types (Jones 1956, 14-16). For the Third Century CE we are dependent on late, and often poor, written sources. The coinage provides us with one of our only contemporary sources for the period. Much can certainly be learned from coins: the emperor, or pretender, appearing on the obverse tells us who was claiming power; the fineness (or otherwise) of the coins tells us much about the economic woes of the empire, and so on. But what of the question raised by Jones and Mattingly and Sydenham – how much do the images appearing on the reverses of the coins tell us? Do they provide insight into the policies, personalities and achievements of the elusive imperial claimants on the obverse? This paper will present the methodology and main conclusions reached in an extensive study of the coinage of the Third Century. In brief, the coinage was tabulated based on 'theme,' rather than the conventional 'type' used by numismatists. This allows for a compact presentation and the ability to detect broad trends in 'theme' used over time. It is argued that the use of 'theme' over 'type,' while sacrificing some refinement, does not affect dramatically the overall picture. For example, it is submitted that whether Victoria is facing left or right, standing or flying – all different types for a numismatist – the 'theme' that the holder would perceive would remain Victoria. There are some limits to this method. For example, it does not control for the relative frequency with which a 'theme' was struck during a reign, which would require an extensive study of coin hoards along the lines of that conducted for the earlier period by Noreña (Noreña 2001). Nevertheless, the results of this study are still useful, and intriguing. The study concludes that the range of 'themes' was conservative and narrow. The repetition from reign to reign of the same 'theme' complicates arguments that particular themes carry particular significance. At the very least, it suggests that, even if those striking the coins intended to convey a specific message with the reverse 'themes' used, it would quickly be lost against the 'background noise,' to use Drinkwater's term (Drinkwater 1987, 159-60), of coins with that 'theme' already in circulation.

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Jessica Tearney-Pearce (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 5e]*
***Mores et Clamores Mali*: Anticipating Apocalypse in Carthage**

Amidst the frequent slaughter and pillage that the Vandals inflicted in 439 on Carthage, its inhabitants and numerous refugees, bishop Quodvultdeus took up the task of responding to an understandably anxious audience. Utilising all tools at his disposal, including North African and Christian traditions along with the works of his predecessors, the bishop formulated sermons suited to the very specific climate and set of circumstances to address to this imperilled population. Quodvultdeus, like many late-antique Mediterranean ecclesiasts, envisioned the world as a Cosmic War engaging the forces of good and evil in eternal combat. He believed that this day of reckoning approached imminently and considered it his primary responsibility to baptise and protect Christian souls so that they might achieve salvation, even if they fell.

The sermons from this period differ in tone from extant examples of Quodvultdeus' earlier preaching, which was mostly directed to catechumens. Prior to the Vandal entry into Carthage, he employed a comparatively subdued and explanatory tone. Throughout this period, however, Quodvultdeus was developing tools, techniques and an emphasis on the power of evil, which he utilised in the time of supreme catastrophe. His message in 439, that the apocalypse was nigh, was not new, even if his urgency was. His corpus consequently demonstrates Quodvultdeus' adaptation and response to his audience and that they contributed to the tone, theme and content of his preaching.

In his sermons he always directly appealed to questions and anxieties, beliefs and ways of thinking, actions, practices and behaviours unique to this populace in this city. Quodvultdeus warned the 'foolish' and 'unfaithful' to beware that 'the end has come and finished is the time to correct evil.'

Alex Thompson (Macquarie University) *[Tuesday, Session 4e]*
The Good News in the Desert: the Text and Context of the *Gospels* in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*
The literature describing early monasticism in Egypt clearly witnesses to the importance of the *Gospels* in the ascetic way of life. The words of the *Gospels* were read, prayed, and sung, and appeared frequently in the texts known as the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (*Apophthegmata Patrum*). This paper will examine the way the gospel text is used, and what the form of the text itself tells us. Close examination of the various compositional techniques employed for incorporating evangelical allusions and quotations into the *Sayings*, and of the structural features within and surrounding these references, leads to an improved understanding of how the monks drew upon the ancient educational genre of *chreia*. Text critical examination of the *Gospel* citations found in the *Sayings* shows a bias towards the Byzantine text type; along with a comparison with the *Gospel* citations in other early monastic texts, this adds weight to the suggestion that the *Sayings*, in the form we have them today, were compiled in Palestine in the fifth century. Finally, this paper will highlight the value of study of the use of scripture in the *Sayings* to the history of the reception of the Biblical text, particularly in view of the widespread use of the *Sayings* in the Middle Ages.

Susan Thorpe (University of Auckland) *[Wednesday, Session 8c]*
Social Aspects in Pseudepigraphic Middle Kingdom Texts
Three texts are the subject of this study – the *Instruction for King Merikare*, the *Prophecy of Neferti* and the *Instruction of King Amenemhat*.

By examining the original texts and by interpreting their content, this analysis will interpret the concepts that needed to be actively realized if order was to be maintained in the world, concepts inherent in the Egyptian code for right behaviour – Ma'at – and determine their importance to the society of this period. Also revealed by this methodology will be the role of the king in both providing the ultimate example of the right behaviour embodied in Ma'at, and having the responsibility within the societal structure for the maintenance of order out of the world's natural tendency to chaos.

Two other topics of relevance to these social aspects of the writings are also discussed. Firstly there is the question of how, and to whom, these adjuncts were disseminated. Was it to the population as a whole or just to those within the elite religious and administrative circle? An analysis of the literacy standards of the population will argue that it is unlikely that a readership existed outside of the royal entourage and bureaucracy. Secondly, there is the question of their historical relevance. Historical references in the writings are studied to determine whether they are a reflection of actual historical events or fictionalized occurrences inserted to support a ruler's societal achievements.

Previous analyses of these selected texts have preponderantly focused on their writing as political propaganda, or have been concerned with the question of whether they should be considered as literature per se rather than purely didactic compositions. It has been important to look additionally at what these texts reveal about the moral values and societal structure of the period in order to add another dimension to our knowledge.

Arianna Traviglia (Macquarie University) *[Monday, Session 3d]*
Looking into Layers of Landscapes: the Territorial Organisation of Roman Aquileia

This paper will convey the results of the first year of archaeological investigations at Aquileia, a major ancient Roman city located in a key area for commercial exchanges between the Danubian regions and the Mediterranean basin.

Aquileia (NE Italy) is the location of a Macquarie University funded project, 'Beyond the city walls: the landscapes of Aquileia.' The goal of this project is to investigate the peripheral landscapes of this city, the relationship between its fringes and urban core, as well as the road and fluvial transport networks that connected it with the rest of the Roman Empire. In doing this, the research is developing and applying a methodology for defining peripheral spaces and the urban/non-urban interface based on the use of aerial and satellite Remote Sensing (RS) and Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Remotely sensed images are currently being used in a systematic regionally cross-comparable data acquisition procedure that is facilitating the mapping of archaeological features that are hard to observe and record on the ground. The use of RS data also allows the detection of relicts of the Roman land division, the *centuriatio*. Interestingly, the Aquileian territory that was subjected to centuriation represents one of the largest areas that Romans had tackled in a single event, having had to face novel theoretical and practical issues, until that moment (181 BC onward).

Remote sensing data are then complemented by historical maps, which provide a means to collect relevant information, like topographic changes, which can no longer be seen on the ground, and consequently offers clear documentation of the modifications that took place.

All these disparate datasets, which support and advance traditional archaeological research and fieldwork, are being used to build an understanding of the settlement dynamics of the area in antiquity as seen through the layers of subsequent re-organisation of the landscape.

Matthew Trundle (Victoria University of Wellington) *[Tuesday, Session 6b]*
Why Greek *Tropaia*?
The Greeks did not celebrate victories with spectacular triumphal processions or other arrogant displays of supremacy over the defeated. One way that the classical Greeks did mark victory was the trophy. The *tropaion* – the supposed turning point of the battle – has been well studied. Pritchett (*The Greek State at War II*. 1974, 246-275) provides a full catalogue, while Krentz ('Fighting by the Rules,' *Hesperia* 71 (2002), 23-39, esp. 32) a corrective to our thinking that trophies somehow represent the rule-bound ways in which Greeks fought battles under truces and agreed conventions. Trophies appeared only as late as the fifth century – perhaps a development in response to the Persian Wars. According to Plato (*Menex.* 240d), Marathon was the oldest. Trophies subsequently proliferate the history of the classical era (57 occurrences in Thucydides and 30 in Xenophon's *Hellenica*). Hans Van Wees (*Greek Warfare*. 2004, 236-8) shows the lengths to which the Greeks went to set up trophies and to prove a victory on the battlefield. This paper seeks an answer as to why the Greeks in the fifth century became obsessed with this immediate means of demonstrating victory and defeat. What was the real purpose and the origins of the Greek battlefield trophy?

Aimee Turner (University of Newcastle) *[Monday, Session 3b]*
The Significance of Statues. A New Approach to the Statuary of the Augustan Forum and the Temple of Mars Ultor
The propaganda of the Augustan era became a complex network of imagery, developing over time as the concept of the principate evolved and Augustus became more aware of the image he wished to create. A central avenue for the display of this propaganda was the Forum of Augustus and the accompanying Temple of Mars Ultor. Centred here were a series of statues depicting 'great' men of Roman history who were carefully selected by members of the Augustan retinue.

Careful analysis of the type of men displayed will provide valuable insights into the ideals which Augustus wished to promote in Rome. Reading of both ancient texts and modern interpretations, combined with a study of the surviving statuary, helps clarify this ideal and suggests a wider motive and subtler message involved in their selection. The choices here can be linked to other monuments and literature of the era, through the inclusion of the figure of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome. It suggests that the insertion of Numa Pompilius in these texts and images was intended to draw favourable comparisons between the king and Augustus, leading Augustus to be recognised as a second Numa.

These wider and subtler impacts on audience call for reinvestigation of other Augustan era monuments and literature, to determine if this connection was prevalent throughout the Augustan era and develop a deeper understanding of its significance.

Robyn Veal (University of Sydney) *[Monday, Session 3d]*
Silvium Lost? The Roman Apulian Landscape in the Basentello Valley: History and Archaeology
Roman landscapes can be examined utilising a variety of data, both archaeological and historical. From remote sensing, and surface and sub-surface survey methods, to traditional excavation and subsequent analysis of remains, landscape form and exploitation can be discovered. Historically speaking, much can be gleaned from

works such as Strabo's *Geography*, and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, in particular. In this study, a range of these data are explored to locate and characterise the colony of Silvium, a Roman name given to a walled city (near/at modern day 'Gravina in Puglia') after its conquest ca. 305 BC (Diod xx.80). At the time of the conquest, Silvium was a garrisoned Samnite city. Its historically traceable origins stem from the Messapian settlement of Magna Grecia in the late seventh and early sixth centuries as a Greek polis which existed on the edge of this cultural milieu. Its precise name in the Greek period of control is not confirmed. A third century BC coin discovered in 1932 suggests a name of Sidi(n)on, but provenance details are sketchy. The earliest archaeological evidence shows Palaeolithic and Neolithic traces. From the Iron Age, native Italic settlements proliferated in the Basentello Valley area as excavations at Botromagno, and nearby Vagnari,[1] and San Felice[2] have shown. The city flourished from Greek settlement until the fourth century when the Samnites took control of the surrounding area. After Roman conquest, traces are few in the third and second centuries BC, although its location near the Appian Way, and only 20 km from the more famous Venusian colony, situate it firmly near the hub of Roman activity in the region. The very name of Silvium suggests a lush, treed environment, and indeed the Iron Age and later archaeological remains attest to iron working, and tile and pottery making activities on a large scale. All of these, in particular, iron working, required consumption of much wood. Complementary pollen studies at nearby Lago Grande di Monticchio (50km distant), support this interpretation, however, close examination of the archaeobotanical remains from an imperial villa at San Felice, (first century BC to second century AD), provide a completely contrasting picture, one of poor agriculture, and wood fuel exploitation of an denuded landscape. This study demonstrates the value of comparing and contrasting historical and archaeological evidence, and in particular how regional and local data are of importance in interpreting the landscape. The author is a historian and environmental archaeologist, and is currently analysing the charcoal remains from the San Felice site, as part of a wider study on the Roman fuel economy.

[1] See http://www.shc.ed.ac.uk/
[2] See http://www.sanfelice.ca/

Lucy Wadeson (University of Oxford) *[Monday, Session 3e]*
Nabataean Tomb Complexes at Petra: New Insights in the Light of Recent Fieldwork
The rock-cut tombs at Petra, carved by the Nabataeans from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD, are renowned for their decorative façades, which have received much scholarly attention since their publication over a century ago. Less well-known are the largely unpublished burial chambers behind the façades and the rock-cut installations for funerary ritual in the area outside the tombs. These areas are the focus of the author's current research, which aims to shed light on the elusive funerary practices of the Nabataeans. This research has involved extensive fieldwork at Petra, whereby the internal and external parts of the tombs were documented and studied, a task made possible by the recent departure of their modern Bedouin inhabitants.

In this paper, new insights will be presented on the nature of the external area of the tombs. These 'tomb complexes' comprise a variety of rock-cut structures, such as receptacles, basins, benches, niches, platforms and cisterns, the study of which allows a reconstruction of the sorts of activities that took place outside the tomb, consequently shedding light on Nabataean funerary customs. It will be shown how these complexes served both sacred and utilitarian functions. In addition, the overall design of the complexes will be considered, and how it was significantly influenced by the architecture of Alexandria. However, despite Hellenistic and Roman influences on the layout of the tombs, a distinctive Nabataean cultural identity is evident in the architecture and funerary customs, which, it will be argued, owe much to the unique geological and geographical environment of Petra.

Pat Wheatley (University of Otago) *[Wednesday, Session 9c]*
The Heidelberg Epitome: a Neglected Diadoch Source
The four excerpts on Diadoch history known as the *Heidelberg Epitome* are frequently referred to by modern scholars, yet have received no critical attention in their own right for nearly a century. The entries are found near the end of *Codex Palatinus Graecus* 129, an anonymous 141 page manuscript of uncertain date preserving a large collection of excerpts on diverse topics. They were first identified by Max Treu in the 19th Century, and published in a collection by Richard Reitzenstein in 1904 in an essay about the *Alexander Romance*. In 1914 Georg Bauer produced an edition and the only substantial study of the text to date, and subsequently Felix Jacoby reproduced the text in *FGrH* 155, with minor changes in the *apparatus*. The present paper proffers an English translation of the *Epitome*, with some historiographical analysis of its pedigree, and critically examines some of the historical material transmitted by the text.

Marcus Wilson (University of Auckland) *[Tuesday, Session 5b]*
Senecan Self-censorship and the Criminalisation of Silence
Although Seneca was a central figure in the imperial court of the Emperor Nero, nowhere in his later works (and in particular, the *Epistles*) does he refer specifically to Nero or comment openly on political matters. This self-

censorship was itself, though, vulnerable to a political interpretation. Tacitus records that when Seneca requested that he be allowed to withdraw from imperial service, Nero rejected this on the grounds that it would be interpreted by others as an implied criticism of the Emperor's character and governmental record (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.56). In many of his letters from this time Seneca deals from an ostensibly philosophical point of view with themes that were highly political. The most obvious of these themes is his defence of the right of an individual to withdraw into a private life of philosophical reflection and writing. After Seneca's death, opportunistic *delatores* like Cossutianus Capito and Eprius Marcellus began bringing treason charges against senators, mainly Stoics, based not on anything they had said or done but on their silence and political passivity, reinterpreted as pointed insults to the emperor. This paper is aimed at assessing the political implications of Seneca's treatment of the theme of withdrawal into private life, and the connection of Seneca's arguments with the subsequent criminalisation of silence, employed as a form of censorship of merely implicit (let alone explicit) comment on an emperor's character or performance of his duties.

Mark Winfield (British Institution of Technology & E-Commerce) *[Wednesday, Session 9c]*
The Archive of Zenon, or, And You Thought Business Was Tough Today?
This paper provides a contemporary perspective on thinking in business administration informed by an historical analysis of conditions in Egypt in 3rd century BCE derived from readings of the papyri of the Archive of Zenon held by the British Library.

Egypt was one of several successor kingdoms ruled by generals following the break-up of the Empire of Alexander the Great. A Greek-speaking elite were installed to serve the ruling house of the Lagids, established by Ptolemy I Soter. The discussion addresses the correspondence and documents of Zenon, son of Agreophon and a native of Caunis in Asia Minor Zenon who had left his home in Caria to make a career in the service of the Apollonius the finance minister to Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The fortuitous survival of papyri in the Fayoum provides evidence of the extent of his duties and of his private business interests in addition to his state ones. The remnants of this now widely-scattered archive offer a fascinating insight into commerce, business practice, accounting, trading and myriad aspects of everyday of life.

The conclusion suggests that whilst the scribal record-keeping was remarkably accurate, the letters and accounts demonstrate a wide range of business and managerial problems together with a bewildering variety of employee relations issues. Thus, as bad as things may seem now we should be grateful we are not working in Hellenistic Egypt, at least not for some of the enterprises Zenon was involved in.

Sonya Wurster (University of Melbourne) *[Monday, Session 3a]*
To be Roman, Don't … *Cicero on the Problematic Arts of Epicurean Philosophy*
Self-definition through the figure of the other is a well-known and often discussed occurrence. Representations of groups and individuals to which the author does not belong often tell us more about the identity of the author and their audience than that of the subject. Depictions like this rely on the technique of stereotyping, a discursive strategy which does not rest on the accuracy of any given representation but on the author and their audiences knowledge of them. Cicero's representation of Philodemus' and Piso's Epicureanism in the *In Pisonem* makes use of stereotyping, and reflects élite concerns about the changing nature of *amicitia* and Roman attitudes to the art of philosophy in the late republic. He draws on élite anxiety about the nature of friendship between those of different social statuses by focusing on the possible moral repercussions of such relationships and the scope for misinterpretation of philosophy by the wrong people. Cicero is ultimately attempting to malign Piso for political purposes, which suggests that his employment of stereotypes regarding Epicurean philosophy and the Romans who follow it held some power. Along with depicting Philodemus as the flatterer, Cicero uses three further strategies to denigrate Philodemus (and by association Piso): one, he highlights the philosopher's outside status; two, he downplays Philodemus' skills as a philosopher; and three, he emphasises Philodemus' dependent status. His representation of Piso relies on the image of the problems of members of the élite Roman who are too caught up in the world of philosophy. Their efficacy comes from the acknowledgement of stereotypes held about Epicureans by members of the Roman élite, and Cicero's technique for representing Philodemus relies on commonly held views about them. In the *In Pisonem* they are flatterers, parasites and mediocre philosophers. Cicero's depiction focuses on the art of philosophy, which he presents as both non-Roman and anti-Roman, and demonstrates the extension of Roman identity and self-representation in this period.

Lawrence Xu (University of Auckland) *[Thursday, Session 10c]*
Money, Power and Death: Embalmers' Communities during Late Ptolemaic Egypt
The work of an embalmer in ancient Egypt can be considered a delicate balance between life and death. Although their involvements with the deceased have been examined extensively, they are rarely considered in their socio-economic context. This study will address the gap in knowledge with regard to the everyday life of

embalmers and explore the parallels observed between their work and other trade professions. It will also argue that a structured community existed among embalmers during Late Ptolemaic Egypt.

The evidence for embalmers' communities primarily exists in ancient literary sources. By the Ptolemaic period in Egypt, the rising demand for the deceased to be properly preserved had resulted in an increase in the number of embalmers. This is reflected in the substantial number of ancient sources, both Greek and Egyptian, regarding this section of society. Diodorus Siculus for example, focused on the treatment of the deceased and the roles of the embalmers, and identified embalming as a *techne*. Archaeological material will also be analysed for the purpose of this study. The discovery of several necropoleis spread throughout Egypt over the last century, both in the Nile valley and the western deserts, have provided crucial evidence to the understanding of embalmer communities. From these archaeological sites, we have found architectural structures which have been associated with embalmers, and a number of administrative and legal documents in the form of contracts have also revealed various titles amongst the embalmers.

Despite the substantial effect that the Hellenistic world had on Egypt in this period, previous studies on embalmers have only examined the problem from either a Greek or Egyptian perspective, without acknowledging the considerable overlap between the two disciplines. Therefore, by incorporating evidence from both sources, this study will provide a more convincing argument for the existence of embalmers' communities in this period.

Rachel Yuen-Collingridge (Macquarie University) *[Wednesday, Session 8e]*
Philosophoi, *Sophistai* and *Didaskaloi* in the Documentary Papyri
The papyrological evidence offers a counterpoint to the grand narratives of educational celebrity characteristic of the literary tradition. In contrast to the theoretically dense and ideologically contested territory of the literary picture of educators, the haphazard testimony of the papyri illuminate a different stratum of social discourse on education. Here *philosophoi*, *sophistai*, and *didaskaloi* appear in a range of civic contexts; paying taxes, witnessing agreements and signing land declarations among others. Private letters, contracts of apprenticeship, and petitions illuminate the expectations and responsibilities placed on educators by their students, their colleagues, and society at large. This sort of evidence also allows the economics of education to be seen and placed against that of other professions. What seems a meagre attestation in the banal genre of administrivia provides a valuable challenge to our expectations of ancient education.

Graham Zanker (University of Canterbury) *[Monday, Session 2d]*
Hellenistic Theory of Poetic Genre-Crossing: An Analogy for Hellenistic Art?
In the art history of the Hellenistic period scholars have often thought in binaries, like Atticism vs. Asianism, and these binaries are commonly based on ancient rhetorical taxonomies of style. However, such binaries do scant justice to the range of Hellenistic art: they tend to overlook the achievements of Hellenistic *Kleinkunst*, like the Slipper-Slapper group from the guild of the Poseidoniasts of Delos, and objects of art in which elements of style and content appropriate to two genres are crossed to create something new in ethos and tone, as with the Munich Glyptothek's Drunken Old Woman. It will be argued that in fact the taxonomies developed in the ancient criticism of poetry shed a more comprehensive light on the styles of Hellenistic art. In particular, Aristotle's three categories of subject-matter in the *Poetics*, comprising *hoi spoudaioi*, *hoi cheirones* and *hoi phauloi*, underlie his analogy from painting to describe the subject-matter of comedy and tragedy at *Poetics* 48a 1-6, and is clearly much closer to the way the ancient and specifically Hellenistic artists thought about their work than the modern binaries.

IN RESERVE:

Maxine Lewis (University of Sydney) *[Monday, Session 2e]*
Catullus and Post-colonial Theory: Landscape, Identity and Otherness
Catullus' construction of identity - both his own and that of the 'Other' - has been a subject of intense discussion in recent scholarship. However, no-one has analysed the link between the poet's presentation of the contemporary landscape and his construction of the colonial subject within that landscape. This paper will fill this gap. It examines the intersection between place-names and identity markers in a selection of Catullus' poems, demonstrating that this connection between the physical world and the characters who inhabit it lies at the heart of Catullus' treatment of identity. In turn, it explores the colonial and imperial nature of Catullus' construction of the Other, using ideas from post-colonial theory to illuminate the issue of whether the poet is colonised or coloniser, Roman or Other. Ultimately we see that this poet's presentation of identity is inextricably linked with the landscape in which identity is formed, and that that landscape is irrevocably imperial.

Mark Davies (University of Auckland) *[Monday, Session 2e]*
Seneca and Roman Ideology (*Epistle* 31)
A reading of Seneca that has had some influence is that of Thomas Habinek, who portrays Seneca in his writing as aiming to 'transmit the dominant ideology.' This idea that Seneca is in any real sense writing Roman imperial ideology is built on a very lop-sided reading of Stoicism, that of Brent Shaw, whose interpretation of Stoicism in such terms has attracted quite a bit of support.

In *Epistle* 31 Seneca introduces his reader to core Stoic concepts of value and the context in which he does this is well suited to critiquing the interpretations of Habinek and Shaw. From reading *Epistle* 31 I will argue that far from Seneca writing Roman ideology it makes more sense to see him as writing, if anything, counter-ideology.